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Lorenzo Pignotti (1738-1812)
Florentine Royal Historian

Trans. by J. Browning

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PIGNOTTI'S
HISTORY OF TUSCANY.

VOL. I.



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THE HISTORY OF TUSCANY,

FROM THE EARLIEST ERA; COMPRISING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE

REVIVAL OF LETTERS, SCIENCES, AND 'ARTS,

INTERSPERSED WITH ESSAYS ON IMPORTANT LITERARY AND

HISTORICAL SUBJECTS; INCLUDING

MEMOIRS OF THE FAMILY OF THE MEDICI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ITALIAN OF

LORENZO PIGNOTTI, ROYAL AND GRAND DUCAL HISTORIOGRAPHER, ETC.

BY JOHN BROWNING, ESQ.

DEPUTY PURVEYOR OF THE FORCES; SEVERAL YEARS RESIDENT
IN FLORENCE.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

A WORK, like the History of Tuscany by Lorenzo Pignotti, appeared to the translator, during his several years' residence in that country, an object of too great importance to be withheld from the literary part of England. When he first made known to his friends in Florence his intention to undertake the laborious task, they, in general, approved of the project, and few of them doubted of the probable advantage an English version of such an history would prove, or that it would form a valuable addition to the library; but it was at the same time suggested, that the very copious illustrations, which adorn the work, and which are nearly sufficient to form an history of themselves, would demand the most undivided assiduity, and an extension of time beyond that which the translator contemplated.

Feeling, however, a due sense of the value of historical works in general, and appreciating, with the most lively participation, the unusual interest which the present history had awakened in all elegant Tuscans and Italian literati, the translator was determined not to suffer himself to be deterred from a pursuit which delighted him, by any representation that might be made of the labour to be encountered. The most pleasing ideas were associated with the name of Tuscany: the cradle of arts and sciences, the Attica of the Italian language, the land, above others, of all Italy, which, in the period of its prosperity and opulence, had opposed the strongest and most

effectual arm to the inroads of tyranny, or the machinations of oppression, appeared sufficient and powerful motives for an Englishman, whom long residence had familiarized with that country, to offer an English version of its history to the British public.

Still, however, a natural want of confidence in his own abilities to render justice, however imperfect, to a work which embraces, like the present, not only the usual narration of political events, but which is interwoven with various ingenious essays upon the important branches of literature, had nearly appalled the translator. He feared that he might involve himself in a labyrinth, from which his exertions might be inadequate to extricate him; and he saw before him a mass of detail, of comment, of illustration, and erudition, which would have demanded from translators, far better qualified for the enterprise than he was, the most sedulous deliberation.

Upon perusing the original with all due attention, these difficulties considerably increased. The work was, from the essays above mentioned, novel in its kind, and was divided by the author into five books. These books could not, in the translation, have formed each of them one volume, and a curtailment of them could not, with justice, be undertaken. The translator, however, trusting to the candid indulgence of his literary countrymen, in submitting with the diffidence becoming him, this his first attempt at translating a work, surrounded with so many difficulties, to their notice, determined upon undertaking the whole of it, which he has divided into the four volumes at present offered to the public.

In the first volume, the conjectures and obscurities in which the origin of the Etruscans is involved, are examined with profound erudition and deep research. The division of ancient Etruria, her principal cities, her wars, and final subjugation to Rome, gradually prepare the reader for the history of one of the most celebrated republics which arose from the ruins of

the Roman empire. Imbibing from the Romans their valour and love of glory, the Tuscans became justly celebrated by the heroic defence of Florence, in the first irruptions of the Barbarians, and which proved the salvation of both Rome and Italy. The long period which followed has been denominated the Dark Ages of Tuscany, during which she became exposed to numerous revolutions, and passing from the yoke of the Goths to that of the Longobards and Franks, was constantly oppressed by numerous tyrants, who held their authority from the then king of Italy. After the death of the Countess Matilda, Tuscany gradually constituted herself into republics—and Pisa, her wars, her power, and opulence; the progressive aggrandizement of Florence—the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the Bianchi and the Neri—embrace a few heads from the mass of interesting events narrated by the learned author. The volume embraces two essays, analogous to the time of which he treats: the first, “On the Art of War in the Lower Ages;” the second, “On the Origin and Progress of the Italian Language.”

The enterprises of Castruccio; the government of the Duke of Athens, his cruelties, the conspiracies formed against that odious tyrant, and his final expulsion, which constitutes a new epoch in the Florentine republic, are narrated with fidelity, in the second volume, and an Essay “On the Revival of Sciences and Letters” is introduced, as appropriate to the fourteenth century. The history then becomes one uninterrupted series of internal changes of government and dissensions in the three republics of Sienna, Pisa, and Florence, until Pisa, humbled and conquered, is rendered dependant upon the latter.

The third volume contains the history of the family of the Medicis, their splendour, riches, and persecutions; the wars in Lombardy with Sforza, precede a general detail of the affairs of Italy, the invasion thereof by Charles VIII., the fanaticism of

the Friar Savonarola, and, as Florence had reached the pinnacle of commercial prosperity at the period under review, the very useful Essay "On the Commerce of the Tuscans" is here introduced.

The fourth volume includes the reign of the Cardinal of the Medicis, Leo X.—the various wars which resulted from Charles's descent, until the government of Tuscany is finally constituted into a grand duchy under Cosmo the First. The work concludes with an Essay "On the State of Sciences, Letters and Arts, generally at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century."

If the Translator has succeeded in bringing into observation a book which, from the standard importance of its contents, deserves to be generally known to all classes of readers, he will consider his labours rewarded; and, in hearing the narrative, the reflections, the profound investigations of Pignotti in an English garb, accepted by a discriminating and liberal public, he will feel happy in receiving so proud a stimulus to further and more successful exertions.

PREFACE BY THE ITALIAN EDITORS.

THE annunciation of a most important history from the pen of the celebrated Lorenzo Pignotti may probably have excited no small degree of astonishment in the minds of those, who were hitherto unacquainted with him by any other title than that of the first writer of tales and fables in the Italian language. And, in fact, if the qualifications, which are indispensable for an historian, appear, in general, to offer a perfect contrast to those which constitute a poet, this difficulty becomes greatly increased when the style, adopted by Pignotti in his poems, which throughout breathe an air of elegance, of grace, and of fire, is duly considered. Dante and Tasso, for example, would probably have succeeded in becoming great historians, but scarcely should we be of the same opinion with respect to Ariosto and Fortiguerra.—How were it possible, it may be asked, for the same pen, which wrote *the Anatomy of the Heart of an accomplished Lady*, (*l'Anatomia del Cuore d'una Donna galante*) to conduct us through all those political transitions and vicissitudes, which laid open the gates of Italy to the descent made by Charles VIII., and which afterwards obliged him to take his departure, and even make a rapid flight? How too can the facetious writer of the *Goldfinch* (*Cardellino*) and the *Calash* (*Pado-vanella*) presume to step forward in the narration of the events, which preceded that celebrated descent, and boldly announce himself to enter the contest with a famous historian, who, ac-

according to the opinion of a great man * will be considered as a Tacitus when the Italians shall become a nation?

The best answer that can be given to these considerations consists in the history itself, which is now offered to the public; the picture which Macchiavel undertook to draw is confined within far narrower limits, and, consequently, all comparison therewith must be at an end: we nevertheless consider, it may not be useless to reflect, that the same spirit of order, of perspicuity and of nature, particularly, which guided Pignotti throughout the whole of his poetical productions, has been of wonderful service to him when he devoted himself to write this work. It has been said that poets are, for the most part, deficient in the natural style, when they dictate prose. The habit they have of seeking always for foreign ideas, or the expression itself which is foreign, even when the conceptions may not be so, habituates them to reject the most natural expression, because it is too common; and the least defect they have is that of being guilty of an over nicety. Algarotti has been charged with this very defect, who, although he appears throughout his works to have been rather a prose writer than a poet, had nevertheless passed his youth in conversation with the muses. If, too, in every writing that failure is to be avoided, which advises the reader, more than any other, of the great study and excessive meditation of the author, this failure ought particularly to be banished from history, the principal object of which is to detail the truth, which is but ill relished by those who read affected and far-fetched phrases. And who would venture to doubt of this, after that the expressions and the phrases have been said to be in some measure the physiognomy of the ideas?

And in fact, upon taking this work into our hands, we shall be easily induced to acknowledge that the candour of mind in

* Alfieri.

the person who wrote it is wonderfully perspicuous in the expressions, which are at all times clear, natural, and never far-fetched, and are given, above all, with that regularity and propriety of disposition, which are derived from the order and the disposition of the ideas. Two other important merits are to be added to these two, viz., the impartiality and gravity with which the history is dictated; merits which are by no means very common, and the latter particularly rare in a writer of tales. But all, who were more nearly acquainted with Pignotti, know that in the last twenty years of his life, he was far more the philosopher than the poet: and when he took the lyre in hand, after his fiftieth year, (from that affection which always brings us back again to the Muses, even when we have abandoned them,) the arguments of his poems clearly prove, that he had long since abandoned the jokes and fooleries which accompanied him in his youth.

Considering, therefore, that Tuscany was without a body of history which, beginning from the Etrurians, offered in one picture whatever memorable happened in this province, down to the epoch in which it fell under the dominion of that celebrated family which, under the free government, had been its finest ornament, he began, as early as the year 1793, to trace out the first lines of it.

The obscure hints, which antiquarians, and other founders of ingenious hypotheses, when speaking of the Etrurians, give their readers, appeared to him sufficient, if not to form great volumes, to compose at least a brief narration, which might serve in some measure as an introduction to his history. In this, he proposed to prove the great importance of the Etrurians, in arms, politics, in arts, literature and sciences, and mindful of what he owed to propriety, and leaving to the inquiries of the learned, whatever is uncertain and obscure, he hoped, in a brief treatise, indeed, but given with the justice and precision which characterize a good

citizen, to vindicate in favour of Etruria, what appeared not sufficiently proved in favour of the Greeks.

The Etrurians lost their name when they fell under the dominion of the Romans ; and acquired another, but together with it both fame and splendour, when they were enabled, after many vicissitudes, to constitute themselves into free governments. The immense and ignoble period, which happens from the year 473 of Rome, and which comes down to the year 1115 of our era, is that, which usually most embarrasses the writers of modern histories. Pignotti, however, imagined he could include this period in one book, which, beginning by offering to the eyes of readers, the principal cause of the decay of the Roman empire, and the consequent servitude of the Italians, in the ruin of the art of war, and continuing to narrate all the revolutions and misfortunes which happened from it, whether from the repeated invasions of the barbarians, the despotism exercised by the feudatories, or the tyranny of the powerful, comes down to the institution of chivalry, which was destined to repress those excesses which no force had hitherto been able to prevent. And in order that the reflections of the philosopher may not be separated from the narrations of the historian, he does not forget to introduce the consideration, to what a degree of blind ignorance the human mind had then arrived, particularly in the celebrated *Judgments of God*, worthy of appearing in an epoch, in which shame and contempt were annexed to the exercise of letters. Nevertheless, some little spark of illumination bursts forth occasionally in the midst of the universal depravity even in those times ; and the philosophical reader, reflecting upon what happened afterwards, is obliged to contemplate, with sorrow, the ruin of the empire of the Goths.

But, as Tuscany makes but little display in this immense period, if we except the domination of the Countess Matilda, the author, by finishing the second book of his history after

the death of that woman, who made both emperors and the kings of Italy tremble, was obliged to change the system of his narration, and adopt one which should be more copious, and carry him less rapidly through the four centuries, which remained for him to describe. Considering, too, that the manner of making war in that age, which is unknown and become out of fashion in our days, renders, sometimes, the almost continual narration of feats of arms in the ancient historians, unintelligible, he thought of preceding this tract of history with a brief appendix of the *Art of War in the Lower Ages*, in order thence to continue the narration of the events of the above mentioned ages.

The division of these events into three great periods, offered brilliant prospects to the mind of a man who undertook to examine profoundly the causes of the progress and aggrandizement of the Florentine republic, and, a principal object with one who devoted himself to write the history of Tuscany.

Florence being freely constituted, by that tendency which a government, consisting of many, has to fall into the despotism of one person alone, saw herself precipitated by degrees, in the midst of factions, into the power of one of those imperial viceroys, who were for many years the scourge of Italy, and who dexterously making himself master of power, and, availing himself of the discords and internal dissensions which prevailed among the citizens, became, for a short time, tyrant over them. The common danger, for a moment put to silence all considerations of private interest; the Duke of Athens was expelled; his ministers were barbarously put to death, and the free government again established. This period, which has a beginning, an interregnum, and an end, must naturally have offered to the historian, a complete part, and he included it in his third book.

Liberty being regained by the Florentines after the ex-

pulsion of the duke, that same moral force, which had served to defeat it, must have been of infinite assistance to the heads of that faction which knew how to make itself master of the government after its fall, and, inasmuch as it had been greater, to overcome the obstacles opposed by the tyrant and his satellites, by so much the stronger was the consistency taken by that magistracy, which, under the name of *Captains of the Guelphan Faction*, extended its authority over all the parts which constituted the government of the Florentine republic.

Modern histories, down to the end of the last century, offer no examples of a tyranny exercised in a free city, and under the name of law, similar to that of a magistracy, which became at once master of the liberty, of the property, and even of the life, of every class of citizens. In the various attempts they made to overthrow it, one family distinguished itself among the others for its affection towards the lower orders of people; fomented their rebellions against the captains; opposed the measures resorted to by them to maintain themselves in their monstrous authority; and, their head being elected gonfaloniere in those times, which were so favourable to those who aspired to the supreme power, established the first stone of the foundation of a new and extraordinary domination, which, after having made its descendants arbiters for more than a century of the Florentine republic, conducted them, after various vicissitudes, to declare themselves absolute masters of it. The House of Medicis, without any title which distinguished it among the other families, was not only the principal, but, by means of its adherents, the ruling family in all the councils of the government. As it was justly said, that in a military republic, the bravest man in it sooner or later becomes king, so, in a republic of merchants, it is the richest who must become so. The treasures, which were accumulated by the Medicean House, would appear fabulous in those times,

particularly, when the substances of gold and silver were so scarce, if we were not acquainted with the means whence they were acquired, and the talents, possessed by Cosmo in industry and traffic, were not well known. The authority of that House, which began with the favour of the people, after the ruin of the captains of the Guelphan faction in Silvester, and was augmented in his children and nephews, proved firm and constant from the first years of the life of Cosmo. He had purchased, by his immense riches, the minds of all who were to be sold in the republic, and with their joint strength and votes he prepared himself either to intimidate or to oppress those, whose minds were not sufficiently debased to suffer themselves to be purchased. In vain his rivals, and the most powerful and daring citizens attempted from the beginning to oppose themselves to him, in vain they shut him up in prison, and sent him into exile. They went too meanly to work, to succeed in oppressing him; and offended him too openly that he could ever pardon them for the attempt. Cosmo de Medicis, after a very short and glorious exile, was recalled to his country, arrived in it triumphant, and proscribed even too cruelly all his enemies*, increased in estimation and authority, and, dying, left both the honour and the burthen of government, to a son who did not resemble him.

But so great was the power attached to that extraordinary domination, that Piero, although almost always sickly, although far inferior to his father in talents, although betrayed by a deceitful friend†, who caused to be broken, without his having perceived it, the yoke under which he oppressed his faithful

* See the History, Ann. 1434.

† Diotisalvi Neroni, who induced him to demand again from many families the money which Cosmo had lent them, (whereby various failures ensued,) who, from being adherents to the House of Medicis, became its most implacable enemies.

and numerous adherents, after a short period, triumphed over the snares laid for him by his concealed enemies, preserved the authority left him by the father, and bestowed it wholly upon his children.

A horrible conspiracy, which extended its threads through various parts of Italy, which was nourished by the hatred of a most powerful family, only uselessly threatened to destroy the two younger brothers, and extinguished the youngest of them: Lorenzo de Medicis, having escaped the great danger, by his prudence, sense and magnanimity, and by a generosity without example, in the midst of a thousand risks which were always growing around him, not only increased the power and the splendour of his house, but became the greatest and most respectable man in Italy. There was a time, in which the principal powers armed against him, openly gave the Florentines to understand, that he alone was the cause of the war: but he alone, by his prudence, moderation and valour, divided his external, and restrained his domestic, enemies; took a share in all the political transactions of the Italian governments; defeated the designs of the Venetians, at the Diet of Cremona; and, dying, left in the enjoyment of perfect tranquillity, this beautiful Italy, which has felt even down to our days the effects of his premature death*.

This great tract of history, which, beginning from the liberty regained by the Florentines after the expulsion of the Duke of Athens, finishes at the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, could be hardly divided; and hence it was included by the author in the design of his fourth book.

* The author treats in a masterly manner the hypothesis which is slightly mentioned; and thinks that, if Lorenzo had arrived at the age of his grandfather, the invasion of Charles VIII. would not have taken place, and consequently that contest, which has never terminated, would not have begun.— See History, Ann. 1492.

With the death of Lorenzo the star of the Medicean family was for a moment eclipsed; and Italy saw the three sons *, wandering, proscribed, and fugitive, imploring from the neighbouring princes †, a small share of that protection, which the latter would have been fortunate at other times to have merited from the father of the former. But if, with the death of Lorenzo, talents and sense were also lost, there were, nevertheless, in foreign countries, those remains of the hereditary riches ‡ with which, after a long peregrination, and the death of the elder brother, the young Medicis were enabled to purchase the arms of the viceroy §, which had escaped from the defeat of Ravenna, return with these by force into their own country, and open themselves a road to greater riches. The whole of Italy gloried in giving to the age which began, the name of the proscribed, who, under the humble garb of a mendicant friar, escaped from the fury of his enemies ||; and all Christian Europe, prostrate at his feet, adored him upon the pontifical throne. That companion of his exile, that private chevalier of Rhodes ¶, who was afterwards considered the soul of his councils, (after a short pontificate **, which makes us desire with sorrow for that of Leo,) was destined to succeed him, and to prove, in the midst of the frightful and horrible calamities with which he was shaken, that Fortune makes a game

* Piero, who died when passing the Garigliano, in 1504: the Cardinal John, who was afterwards Pope Leo X., and Julius, who became Duke of Nemours.

† At Bologna, where Bentivoglio received Piero coldly; and at Urbino, where Julius was treated with magnificence, and singular marks of friendship.

In the hands of the agents of their traffic; although Lorenzo had converted many castles into the purchase of many large estates in Tuscany.

Raimond of Cardona, Viceroy of Naples.

Giovio and Nardi say that he fled in the disguise of a friar.

¶ Julius de Medicis, son of Julius, slain in the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and who was afterwards Clement VII.

** That of Adrian VI. See An. 1523.

sometimes of her favourites, and after having tossed them from the top to the bottom of her wheel, brings them back again, with a rapidity greater than their fall, to the summit of it. Clement VII. hardly escaped from the horrid sacking given to Rome by the impious soldiers of Charles V., re-conquered with their arms and their blood the authority that his family had lost at that time in Florence; succeeded in becoming related to the royal House of France; and, upon his death, left the last branch of the family of Cosmo, *Father of the Country*, under a more modest title, absolute lord of all the states which once formed the dominion of the Florentine republic. The city of Sienna alone, which had been able to maintain herself free, was soon obliged to yield to the arms, artifice, and the fortune, of Cosmo I.

Here, then, is the History of Tuscany, down to the grand duchy, divided into five books, each distinguished by a particular character. In the first, we wander amongst conjectures and obscurities: in the greater part of the second, an universal barbarism covers the surface of the globe; the right of force and arms is the only one that can be invoked: the third is a continual narration of dissensions, turbulencies, and wars: in the fourth, we see a private family becoming gradually arbiter of a powerful republic, and afterwards still more preponderating in the fluctuating politics of Italy: in the fifth, finally, the invasion of Charles VIII. begins, and a contest ensues, which will never have a termination.

In the greater part of the histories of other countries there is little to be added after the narration of the political events; in the History of Tuscany, they form, perhaps, the least important part of it.

After the invasion of the barbarians various dialects began to be introduced into the different provinces of Italy, derived from their ancient language, ingrafted into that of the conquerors. Tuscany saw the first writers, who formed,

polished, and civilized, that dialect which afterwards became the noble language of Italy. So fine a boast was not to be lightly touched upon; and the author, consequently, designed to write an *Essay upon the Origin of the Italian Language*.

At the word of the greatest writer*, which modern nations boast of, literati and artists arose on every side of Tuscany, who taught the manner of chanting elegantly in verse, of writing elegantly in prose, of handling the pencil, of animating marble, and casting bronze; and hence a *new Essay* was prepared upon the *Revival of Letters, Sciences, and Arts*, in the works of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Donatello, and Brunelleschi.

In the revival, in the mean time, of architecture, immense treasures were lavished by the Siennese upon building their sumptuous cathedral; by the Pisans, upon their magnificent Campo Santo, one of the finest monuments of the age; by the Florentines, in order to rival, in their churches, palaces and public galleries†, whatever was to be found of magnificent in antiquity. How was it possible, every one would ask, for a people, who were shut up within the confines of a province which is not very fertile, to arrive at such vast riches, which enable them to raise buildings worthy of the Romans themselves? Hence, therefore, appeared the necessity of giving a succinct idea of this extraordinary prosperity in an *Essay upon the Commerce of the Tuscans*, which accompanies the fourth Book, wherein the many contemporary external warlike enterprises, which were fed by those immense riches, are narrated.

* A difference should always be made between the author and the writings. The divine comedy is not the greatest work of the genius of moderns; but he who wrote that work in those times is the greatest of all who have appeared since.

† That of Orgagna above all, which is properly styled by the learned Signior Cicognera, (vol. 1, p. 462,) of his History of Sculpture, *the finest portico in the world*.

The age of Lorenzo de Medicis finally, and the beginning of the other of Leo, recalling to the memory that of Pericles, justly invited the historian to consecrate his talents to the memory of those great men, who do eternal honour to our native country, which, in spite of jealousy and envy, always maintains as honourable a post as any other province of Italy*. Leonicensi, in medicine; the Socini, in law; Toscanelli, in mathematics; Guicciardini, in history; Macchiavel, both in history and politics; Poliziano, in poetry; Casa, in eloquence; Ghiberti, Leonardo, the Frate, Andrea del Sarto, Cellini, Buonarrotti, in fine arts; and the unique Leo Baptist Alberti, in all, (because he was at once a mathematician, a natural philosopher, a poet, a critic, a moralist, an architect, a sculptor, and a painter)—form a constellation of genius, without speaking of lesser ones, equals to whom we are doubtful whether Greece herself can boast of. If this constellation of genius was formed to elevate the mind of any writer, much more must it have attracted the particular attention, and inflamed the heart, of him who had passed his years in the cultivation and in the examination of all the works derived from the arts of the beautiful. A final Essay was then arranged *upon the State of Sciences, Letters and Arts, at the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth, centuries*, which forms alone an entire volume of the whole work, and is, without doubt, its finest ornament.

The author, having in this manner designed and filled up some parts of his work†, devoted himself to make a minute research into every corner of the Florentine archives, which

* Tuscany, in poetry, (to say nothing of others) has reckoned in our days Pignotti, Fiorentino, and Tantoni. We know not among contemporaries if, upon an equal population, any other province could offer a greater number of poets of equal merit.

† Those particularly which belong exclusively to literature, and those which are too well known to stand in need of historical aid and documents.

although diligently examined both by Monsignor Fabbroni and by the learned friends of the celebrated Roscoe *, nevertheless offered him many unpublished Documents. He read all the manuscript histories and most important chronicles, as well as the very voluminous Diary of Burcardo, which is preserved in the Laurentian library, and the shorter one of Paride Grassi; and, after having reaped an ample harvest of intelligence, began to write his work from beginning to end. The least discerning part of our readers will perceive, that the narration acquires force and vigour as the interest increases, and the events arise; in the same time that the different Essays, composed at various times, and a fruit, in great part, of the many and judicious reflections, arising from the reading of the writers of whom he speaks, shine refulgent with the most brilliant colours. The last part alone, which is the period of history, rendered famous both by the great events which happened in Italy and the pen of Guicciardini, appears dictated by him with greater vigour than the rest. With an emulation, which rivals his strength and profoundness, he appears to take courage from the difficult situation in which he is placed. The firm and daring character of Capponi, the audacious eloquence of Savonarola, the profound reasonings of the Florentine secretary, the goodness of character in Julius de Medicis, the inconsiderate temper of Piero, the magnificence and excessive prodigality of Leo, the arrogance of Lorenzo †, the cunning mildness of Julius, (as long as he was in the government of Florence,) and his double-minded character and pusillanimity after he was elevated to the mitre, all is brilliantly treated in a more confined picture, but a more animated and varied one than that which is drawn by the

* The canon Bandini, and the British resident minister Penrose.

† Son of Piero, who was afterwards Duke of Urbino, the same to whom Macchiavel dedicated his book *del Principe*.

greater part of the writers of the Florentine History, who, in the midst of the merits they possess, are mostly deficient in propriety of measure*.

Having written a work, which would have demanded the labours of half a century, and after having, in great measure, copied and corrected it with his own hand †, it was still deficient in that polish, which authors are wont to give to their works, when they correct the proofs of the press. Alfieri, persuaded of this truth, said that a manuscript work was a book half made, which can only receive its last perfection from the anxious and indefatigable hand of the author, who presides over the edition, and corrects every error in it.

Pignotti was now making every preparation to give his work his last attention, when the French government caused the celebrated law upon the press to be published, by which law (without saying any thing of the rest) authors were obliged to send their manuscripts to the Censure three hundred leagues distant from their place of domicile. He then gave up every idea of giving his history to the world, and waited for better times. Being shortly afterwards attacked with the long and painful disease which brought him to the grave, he was obliged to leave it imperfect.

After his death, however, a general desire was manifested at seeing a history published, which was not only favourably known to those few persons to whom the author had confided it, but which was expected by many who were acquainted with the author, to fill up a void in our literature. His heirs, yielding to the general request, and sparing no expense to give it a brilliant, elegant edition worthy of their

* It is understood of the writers of history of these times.

† The books II. III. and portion of the IV. down to 1434; the Appendix upon the Art of War; Essay the First; the greater part of the Second; and the whole of the Third,—are of another pen, but corrected by him.

author *, were, however uncertain of the method they should pursue in publishing it. They knew it had not received the final polish from the hands of the illustrious author; were they, then, to leave untouched those places which were visibly defective, which either negligence, haste, or the intention of correcting them, had suffered to fall from his pen? or were they, by making themselves the interpreters of his wishes, boldly to correct them? In the first case, what would be said of his negligence by the many persons who, like the beetle, seek only for impurities in the works of the most renowned authors? and what would the public say of their temerity in the second? In this state of uncertainty, they were already much perplexed, when, reading the place of the fourth Essay, where the author speaks of the Florentine secretary, they found therein their best defence †. Every uncertainty, therefore, ceased; and it was resolved upon, to publish the History exactly as it was found in the manuscript.

* We speak of the first edition, 8vo., sold by Nicholas Capurro in Pisa, 1813-14.

† He is accused of having sometimes neglected grammatical correctness in his writing. It may be said, in his defence, that the faults are so trivial, that they are hardly to be discovered. He has been the first who has proved that we may write with force and perspicuity, and neglect grammatical minutiae. Being occupied with great objects, he has employed all his energy in describing them, paying little regard to those rules, among which other writers are implicated, who lose their time in discussing their words and their situation, arrest the rapid march of genius, and unnerve their style.—Fourth Vol., Essay IV.

AN
HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
LORENZO PIGNOTTI.

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LORENZO PIGNOTTI was born on the 9th of August, 1739, in the opulent, polite, and populous town of Figline, in the upper valley of the Arno. His father was a respectable merchant of that place. Fortune, however, appeared at the birth of Lorenzo, in destroying the possessions of the father, as if desirous of opposing the future celebrity of the son; and it may be said with some reason of him, as of an illustrious Roman, that he was indebted to his ancestors for nothing. He was, as it were, the child of himself. *Videtur ex se natus.*

A paternal uncle, who had engaged in commerce with better success than his brother, called Lorenzo to that city at a tender age; when he became an orphan by the death of his father and mother, together with his two sisters, Maria and

Ann, and his brother Edward. The issue proved that this paternal uncle was not governed, in offering protection to his nephew, by any sentiment, either of humanity, consanguinity, or of commiseration, but yielded, as it were, in spite of himself, to that duty which the law imposed upon him, of maintaining him. He, however, neglected not the education of his nephew. The college of Arezzo, which has at all times been distinguished for the best of discipline, for the good method pursued in the studies, and the abilities of the instructors, had now to number Lorenzo amongst its pupils.

The young scholar gave early proofs that his talents destined him to occupy one of the first posts among the poets and the literati of Italy. He ran through, with a rapidity which excited the surprise of his masters, the first classes of humanity. Impelled by a curiosity which embraced, and endowed with a memory which retained, every thing, he enriched his young mind with the exquisite beauties of the Italian and Latin classics; and the taste he made in his selection proved that he would, one day, either rival or surpass the models he took for his guide. Emulation is usually the incentive, of which the institutions, destined to the scientific and literary education of youth, avail themselves, in order to engage them to study. The young Lorenzo had no need

of this ordinary stimulus, and which approximates so near to envy, in order to launch forth with ardour upon the career of letters. He was summoned to literature by an instinct which predominated over him; and the distance at which he left his fellow-scholars, by drawing him near to his masters, rendered him at once the object of the admiration of both.

Those, who, in the examination of the moral qualities and of the dispositions of the mind of a man, choose to attribute every thing to education, will always meet with a strong objection to their way of thinking, in the premature and speedy annunciation which nature gives of the great qualities inherited by some young persons, which qualities they afterwards develop, when grown up. Pignotti, involved in the miseries which ruined his father, at a time that the latter had retired with the slender remaining fruits of his unsuccessful commerce to the city of Castello, (whence he was afterwards called by the duties of consanguinity by his uncle,) made poetry, when he had not yet completed his ninth year, and his verses evinced a genius far superior to his age. He had hardly passed the class of students in the seminary of Arezzo, when he was considered worthy of being a master.

An ecclesiastic directed at that time the rhetorical studies in that seminary, and his poetic celebrity would have been in want of nothing to

give it *eclat*, if he had been born in a country less fruitful in poets than Tuscany. The *Piovano Landi*, (because under this name he was always afterwards known,) a very pleasing literato, and possessed of a classic elegance in composing Bernescan pieces of poetry, appreciated the literary talents inherited by young Pignotti, and cultivated the innate disposition he evinced for making poetry*. He had not yet left the class of rhetoric, when his poetry formed the wonder and delight of the most cultivated persons of the city, to such a degree, that the eyes of all were turned towards the poet of the seminary.

The celebrity, which distinguished Pignotti when still a young man, engaged Monsignor Philip Incontri, who occupied at that time the bishop's see of Arezzo, a prelate, who held talents in estimation, and who was furnished with discernment to distinguish them, to propose him to

* Pignotti has made an honourable mention of his master in one of his tales, hitherto inedited, entitled *Le Burle del Diavolo*, (The Mockeries of the Devil:)

Trovossi a caso un giorno non lontano
Da questo pazzo un prete a Fèbo caro,
Che già cantò la vita d' un Piovano
Con Tosco stile il più purgato e raro,
Uno de' più bei spiriti e più dotti
Che il fertil Casentino abbia prodotti.

Accidentally there was one day a priest dear to Phœbus, not distant from this madman, who already sang the Life of one *Piovano* in the most pure and choice Tuscan style, one of the finest and most learned spirits that the fertile Casentino has produced.

occupy the post of Landi, when the latter was called from the chair to the care of souls. But neither the inclinations of Pignotti could have led him to embrace the ecclesiastical state, as he must have done had he accepted the invitation, nor would the elevation of his genius have been able to lower itself to the humbler details of instruction which were proposed to him*.

Then it was that he was obliged to manifest to his uncle his decided resolution of devoting himself entirely to the cultivation of sciences and letters, and the impossibility of tying him to the ecclesiastical condition of life. This frankness in the youthful Pignotti, which was authorized moreover by the liberty every person should have to select for himself a situation in life, displeased the uncle, who rudely denied him all further assistance, and limited the extent of his generosity to so small and paltry an assignment, that it

* The following is the manner in which he himself describes this epoch of his life, in the elegant epistle he wrote to the Chevalier Victor Fossombroni :

*Tra i preti, senza voglia d' esser prete,
In seminario i primi anni passai ;
E d' Enea le vicende or triste, or liete
Lessi, e del Venusin gli scherzi gai :
All' ingegno abbozzato in questa guisa
Novelle cognizioni aggiunsi a Pisa.*

I passed the first years of my life amongst the priests in the seminary, without wishing to be a priest, and read both the doleful and joyful vicissitudes which attended Æneas, as well as the merry jokes of Venusino: I added fresh acquirements to my mind, which had been sketched in this manner, when I arrived at Pisa.

was scarcely sufficient to satisfy the first and most urgent cravings of nature.

The greatest reputations have frequently depended upon circumstances, the failure of which would have suffered men, who have fixed the attention of their contemporaries and of posterity, either to have remained among the common crowd, or to have been concealed in obscurity. Maria, the elder sister of Lorenzo, had entered into matrimony in Arezzo with Anthony Philip Bonci, a man who, from his profession of a land-surveyor and calculator, certainly had no great means to assist his brother-in-law, but who had received from nature a generous disposition, a compassionate heart, and, what is of far more importance, sufficient discernment to distinguish that the talents of his relation were estimable; and therefore deserved to be cultivated and protected. The brother-in-law made amends to Pignotti for the injustice, and the harsh treatment he had experienced from his uncle, received him at his own house, prevented him from being discouraged, and furnished him with the means of continuing his literary and scientific education at the university of Pisa.

Pignotti evinced, during the whole of his life, the lively sense of gratitude he entertained for this generosity displayed towards him by his brother-in-law. He declared his native place was that of the husband of his sister and his benefactor;

literary history may also with reason consider him an Aretine, if, in disregarding the birth-place of the individual, that of the birth of his celebrity should rather be valued ; and this observation, whenever the birth-place of Pignotti may become an object of learned controversy, will be able, perhaps,

Aux Saumaises futures épargner des tortures.

The force of genius possessed by the young Lorenzo appeared proportioned to the different situations in which he was placed ; and as, when a schoolboy, he had known the manner of conciliating to himself both the admiration and the esteem of his preceptors in humanity, in like manner, when a student at the university, he understood how to conciliate to himself also that of his philosophical tutors. The celebrated professor Soréa, known for the vast extent of his knowledge, and his eloquence, made Pignotti rather a bosom friend than a pupil. The latter, after the example of the celebrated Francis Redi, his countryman, had chosen the study of medicine and philosophy, as that which was probably considered by him as most compatible with his predilection for poetical labours. In these two faculties he was laureated in Pisa on the 1st of May, 1763, and having gained the laurel, he transferred himself to Florence, to commence his medical practice in the royal hospital of that city.

The genius of Pignotti acquired at that epoch

a more vast theatre, upon which it could make its temperament known. Collecting, with a prudence not very frequent in young cultivators of the Muses, what was necessary for his own useful and decorous establishment, whereby he could liberate his brother-in-law from the burthen of maintaining him, and which he felt due to the natural impulse which led him exclusively to devote himself to letters and poetry, he endeavoured also to acquire a name in medicine by his eagerness for the practical study of this art, as he had already acquired, and was every day further extending it, by his poetical productions, which were recited in the most polished and distinguished societies of the capital, and had rendered him the object of the wonder and of the good wishes of all.

Pignotti, during his practical studies of medicine, was admitted among the number of Apatist, or indolent academists; and what proves that he understood, even from that time, how to unite to an imagination, full of vivacity and grace, whatever the memory can possess of vast and useful in knowledge, was the reception he gained, although in an early age, from the learned composing the so called academy of the *Sibillone**. This aca-

* Goldoni, in the Memorials of his Life, gives a full detail of this academy. As the said book, one of the prettiest of the kind, passes through the hands of all persons, we think it unnecessary

demy, although it may appear frivolous in its object, was a residue in Florence of those agreeable literary societies, which had arisen amidst the riches of every kind of works of imagination, and not appearing directed to any scope of true utility, served, as it were, as food to the fine geniuses who frequented them, and, as articles of mere luxury, made a display of whatever we still possessed of *esprit* and erudition, after having exhausted objects, however, of greater importance. One circumstance proved how early young Pignotti put himself on a level with the most accredited and the oldest champions. He proposed a question relative to an object of science: the Nestor of that academy ought to have adapted the reply of the sibyl to the solution of the question, and the sibyl answered woman's hood, (*scuffia*). Either that the Nestor, at the moment, knew not how to contrive the connexion between the reply and the question, as it was his duty to have done, or wished to give a mortification to the celebrity which the young poet enjoyed, he thought proper to observe that the sibyl's reply had been very wise and opportune to the question, as far as it treated of a theme more worthy to occupy a woman's toilette, than the erudition of a literato. Poets are not to be offended with impunity, and

to report what he says of it, it being sufficient to refer our readers to it.

young Pignotti proved at that meeting the truth of the saying of Horace, *Facit indignatio versum*. In a dissertation, wherein the traits of an original fancy shone forth, and the flowers of a classic and exquisite erudition were seen scattered with profusion, mixed with the graces of a lepid and very piquant style, he proved the conformity of the sibylline answer to the question, and was covered with applause.

These literary controversies and labours of mere academical luxury distracted not the youthful Pignotti from the more serious and useful studies of practical medicine, to which gratitude and duty alike impelled him. He was soon matriculated in medicine, with the applause of his instructors; and, in the exercise of this lucrative profession, was almost immediately placed in a condition to exempt his brother-in-law from any concern about the convenient subsistence of him. Born with a strict sense of rectitude, although endowed with a very fervid fancy, he knew, from his early years, the method of making his dearest inclinations subordinate to the reflection of his social duties; and what will afford still more wonder, and serve as example to those, who, when young, assume, as necessary to poetic independence, the very natural inclination to a dissolute life, and affect the impatience of Ovid, without possessing his genius, he dedicated himself, in order to obtain a permanent and decorous post in society, to the exercise of a

profession, the efficacy of which, like some other illustrious sceptic, he was not much inclined to believe*.

A physician, who is at the same time a literato and poet, unites all the means and advantages of making a brilliant figure in the societies of a learned and populous capital. Pignotti soon perceived the excellent effects produced by the wise employment of his talents. If, when he shewed himself in the societies as a mere poet, he was enabled to delight and attract the curiosity of all,—when he appeared therein as a physician, accredited by the esteem he enjoyed from his masters, and by the successes which had attended him, delight was converted into a necessity, and curiosity into a wish to possess him. An enemy to every kind of that affected gravity, with which some followers of Galen either cover their insufficiency, or endeavour to add a merit of opinion to their real merit, he professed, as physician, both in his

* Ebbi desio di rintracciar l'arcano
 Principio delle cose, e il cupo seno
 Della natura, ed un capriccio strano
 L'arte a studiar mi spinse di Galeno;
 E allor credeva in buona coscienza
 Che ci fosse nel mondo questa scienza.
 Ma la fallacia vistane e visto anco
 Ir l'astrologo e il medico del paro, &c.—PIGNOTTI, *ib.*

“I had a desire to trace out the secret principle of things, the dark bosom of nature, and a strange caprice induced me to study the art of Galen; then it was that I thought, in good conscience, that this science existed in the world. But having seen the fallacy of it, and seen too the astrologer and the physician alike, &c.” •

behaviour and method, all the simplicity and frankness which distinguishes the good Tuscan school; and he probably only wanted the wish to place himself by the side of Redi amongst the masters of the salutary art, in order to do so. If the medicines administered to the mind are frequently more salutary, or equally so, with those administered to the body, Pignotti was not without the means in the good sense, taste, erudition, and pleasing manners he possessed, of being useful to his illustrious patients, and those were truly illustrious who, from the first exercise of his profession, were intrusted to his care. Amongst these distinguished patients the Marquis Viale, of Genoa deserves to be mentioned, who, being attended and cured by Pignotti in a painful and obstinate ophthalmy, formed such an attachment for him, that, upon returning to his native place, he wished to have him with him, spared neither entreaties nor promises to detain him, and offered him an honourable and advantageous establishment.

Pignotti, however, who had contracted an intimate familiarity and confidence with the most important personages of Tuscany, and enjoyed the particular protection of the illustrious president, Pompey Neri, chose immediately to depend upon him, as he expresses himself in a letter of the 11th January, 1767, addressed to his sister in Arezzo, and proposed his friend, the Abbé Cesti, an Aretine, for the employment that had been

offered him in Genoa; and refusing even a more brilliant appointment which his benevolent protectors of that city projected for him in Paris, he returned speedily to his Tuscan protectors.

It appears that Pignotti, either calculating that the profession of physician he continued to exercise after his return to Florence gave him not that independence and leisure so necessary to a cultivator of the Muses, or impatient to have a wider field in which he could display his eloquence and erudition, made this desire known to his illustrious protector, Pompey Neri, who thought he made a present to his sovereign and his native country by proposing him for the chair of natural philosophy, in the new academy which the immortal Leopold established in the year 1769 in Florence for the education of the nobility.

Although this employment was not very lucrative, it furnished Pignotti with the opportunity of increasing his celebrity, and of acquiring new and closer connexions with the most illustrious ranks of the city, in the midst of which, although he was not of an elevated birth, and was devoted wholly to letters, he afterwards lived always beloved and admired. To this circumstance, probably, that urbane and constant regard may be attributed, which he always professed for persons distinguished by birth, and that inclination which appeared always to lead him to seek their society, an inclination for which some gloomy and harsh minds have pretended to

do him wrong, calumniating him with the title of adulator, and which moreover shews how greatly his mind was sensible to all the social proprieties, and of what importance he considered it to establish by his own example that communication which should always exist between men of letters and persons who have the means of protecting them. Had Pignotti lived in the times of Lorenzo the Magnificent, he would have had a place in his heart, as well as Poliziano and Landino.

In the year 1774, Pignotti was elevated from the chair of natural philosophy of Florence to that of the same science in the university of Pisa. His lectures upon a subject, of which it may be said with reason, *ornari res ipsa negat, contenta doceri*, were models of eloquence and taste. At a time when that city had become, particularly in winter, the sojourn of pleasure to illustrious and royal personages, who were allured to it to enjoy the mildness of the climate, and a situation which art has, as it were, torn from the hands of nature, in order to render it more delightful and beautiful, the lectures of Pignotti were frequented by those illustrious personages, whom the desire of hearing them confounded amongst his scholars. In analyzing the nature of bodies, and investigating their properties, he gave to all an interesting complexion. The seduced imagination, it appeared, was to serve as incitement to reason for instruction; the imagination, however, was always the companion of reason, an

union which the taste alone of Pignotti was able to render an useful method of instruction. He possessed both eloquence of ideas and of words, and both appeared upon his lips embellished with all that the magic of the extempore style possesses of most interesting, together with a purity and correctness of diction. He was not master of volubility of speech, which the common herd of orators and listeners confound with eloquence, and which is nothing more than verbosity and pronunciation. He was, on the contrary, a slow deliverer rather than otherwise; and if the cause of the intrinsic merit of his lectures could have been confounded with that of his manner of declamation, or could on that account have lost any of its merit, he must be reproached with a certain monotony.

From this epoch, it appears, we may date the project which Pignotti conceived of furnishing Italian poetry with a kind of composition which it was still without in the midst of every other with which it abounded, and to which he was indebted for the high degree of reputation he enjoyed, both in our own country and amongst foreign nations. We are speaking of his *Fables*, which were given for the first time to the world in Pisa, in the year 1782, from the press of Pieraccini. Few works met with like success; for, in a short time, they passed through fifteen editions in Italy and elsewhere,—and afterwards they were increased to thirty.

The *Fable* of Pignotti is not of the same kind

with that of *Æsop* and of *Phædrus*, nor of those of *La Fontaine* or *Gay*, although it approaches the latter nearer than any other. Ornamented fable is a composition for which Italian poetry is indebted to *Pignotti*, and to the fine discernment which he displayed even in matters of fancy. Some fables of *Crudeli* present us neither with the project nor the attempt at this kind of composition. *La Fontaine* was enabled, in a language which so readily lends itself to precision and conciseness, and is so subservient to the intellect, whilst it adapts itself so little to the imagination, to devote himself to fable, the greatest merit of which consists in rapidity of detail, and that fine simplicity which our idiom is so little acquainted with that it has no adequate term to express it like the French. A poetic language like our own ought to give an ornament to fable, which makes it appear with other merits than those of the fable of foreigners of whatever nation,—a fable alike adapted to instruct and delight all classes of society, so that it may no longer remain confined in the narrow limits of an instruction purely moral, and circumscribed in the libraries of youth.

Pignotti, in order to disarm of her weapon that malignity which, probably, affected to perceive nothing further in him than a poet, chose to prove that, if his hand knew how to manage the pencil of poetry with so much grace, it could, with equal success, govern the style of sciences, and published

his meteorological conjectures upon the variations of the barometer, according to the theory of Monsieur Le Roi. In a conjectural subject the most brilliant and most ingenious hypotheses are those which most satisfy, and the better the book is written so much the less the reader measures the degrees of probability of the hypothesis. The conjectures made by Pignotti are full of genius, and coherent, in every part, to the system with the principles of which he was proceeding to solve the difficulties of his subject. His style is clear, and gifted with a scientific precision; the gracefulness, which from time to time adorns it, gives it an air of originality which is never disunited from the productions of writers of genius. The revolution which natural philosophy, chemistry, and pneumatics, have undergone in these latter times, has rendered some changes necessary in that work,—and Pignotti, always a follower of the progress of his school, had already prepared them; but from the negligence or ignorance of the bookseller to whom they were consigned to be printed, they have hitherto remained inedited.

The Eulogy of Pignotti, which is, probably, now receiving the last stroke of perfection from a learned and celebrated pen, is intended to run minutely through all the works, both in prose and verse, with which he enriched the Italian literature. But we cannot refrain from indicating those works of his of greater fame, which, having formed an epoch

in the history of poetry and our native literature, have also formed one of them in that of his life.

One of the original and valuable characteristics which mark the poetry of Pignotti is, that of uniting all that is charming and varied in fancy with whatever reason possesses of the instructive and philosophical. He has not written, with the exception of a few imitations, either Epistles, Satires, nor a Poetic Art, like Horace and Boileau, but has given to Italy a method of making poetry, which renders him both the Horace and the Boileau of Italian literature. It appears that the Graces under his pen are despoiled of their attributes, in order to clothe Reason and Philosophy with them. If he turns his attention in his poetry towards the great, he knows, like Boileau, how to intermix praises judiciously expressed, with precepts of literature and morality given with truth and precision, and the precept appears even to lose the air of being one,—such is, as it were, the gracefulness and vivacity with which he announces it! In the picture he gives of vice and ridicule, he conceals his lash in the midst of the roses, and causes it to be read with interest by those same persons whom, probably, he had in contemplation when writing it.

These merits, which embellish all the poetry of Pignotti, whether we treat of his Fables or of his Lyric Poetry, presaged a kind of composition, of which they were to form the primary beauty, and

which, on that account, was to have been an original kind. In works of fancy and of taste it is difficult to class the descriptions as we class stones and insects in the cabinet of a naturalist, and the creative genius laughs at the spirit of classification. Italy possessed a kind of poem which, turning upon the narration of a celebrated but ridiculous event, deserved not the name of epic poem; and to which, therefore, the classifiers gave the name of heroic-comic. But this description, even from the pen of the easy and pleasing Tassoni, was always condemned to an indecent scurrility, and the Muses were not ashamed, at times, to speak the phrases of the market and the highway. Despreaux had proved how much variety of movement and grace may be scattered in a subject with little matter to work upon; and in Despreaux variety smothers not the unity of the subject, in a medley of borrowed episodes which destroy it. The movement does not consist in uniting the mythologist with the historian, the allegorical with the real, and in conducting the gods of Olympus to a tavern; nor do the Graces, instead of smiling decently, crack their sides with laughter like the women of the vulgar. But, in order to keep ridicule in such a kind of composition within its just limits, and render it as much as possible spiritual, (may we be permitted the expression?) an exquisite sense of decency, a perfect knowledge of all the gradations of human

follies, and of all the caprices of the civilized passions, become necessary, in order that a poet may choose his models in the *Conversazione*, and not in the markets. The union of poetry with the spirit will be noted in the annals of our literature, in the little poem of Pignotti, called the Present of the Lock of Hair, *La Treccia Donata*. We do not think that the translation is the touchstone of the goodness of the poetical composition, although it may be so of the precision of the style. But the French translations which have been made of this little poem shew that, even deprived of the magic style in which the greater merit of the poem consists, the spirited allusions, the gracefulness, and rapid narrative, the piquant painting of the characters, and the riches of the invention have been preserved with interest, even amidst the transparent indeed, but always imperfect and obscure, powers of the translation into a language which is not poetic.

In the Eulogies of the Counsellor Tavanti, of the mathematician Perelli, and of the Counsellor Rannuzzi, professor of public right in the university of Pisa, Pignotti paid a debt due to his love of country, because those distinguished subjects were either Aretines or nearly so. In the Letters upon the Latin Classics to his friend the senator Julius Mozzi, in doing nothing else than keep account of the discourses he held with him upon many subjects of taste, on occasion of the royal parties in the

country at Poggio a Caiano, of which we shall afterwards have to speak more at length, so that it might be said,

... vestigia retro

Observata sequor;

he proves how fine was his discernment, and how exquisite his touch, in apprizing the beauties of the chefs-d'œuvre of genius in the two arts, so often improperly called sisters, Poetry and Painting; and the admirers of Tasso must pardon him for the subaltern post in which he, nevertheless, appears to have chosen to place him when confronted with Ariosto, if on no other account than that of the ingenious reflections he makes upon both poets.

It might have been supposed that, after so many original and fine productions he had given the world, nothing was wanting to complete the literary glory of Pignotti. But he had conceived the project of a work as vast for the multiplicity of objects it was to embrace, as it was important for the disposition of the events it was to describe. We should not be able to determine what were the motives which engaged Pignotti, who aspired to take his seat by the side of the historic muse, as he had already sat by that of Poetry, to choose the History of Tuscany from the most remote and obscure times of Etruscan antiquity down to the establishment of the grand duchy. But we ought to congratulate ourselves and all Tuscans that his subject has not been snatched away from our native literature, and

become, like some other Tuscan subject, the property of foreign literature. The celebrated Gibbon, called, by the strength of his genius, to manage the pencil of history, was long perplexed about the choice of the subject, which was to employ his bold criticism, the pompous luxury of his style, and his immense erudition. He relates, in the Documents to serve as history of his life and his works, written by himself, that two subjects delighted him more than any other, the History of Swiss Liberty, and that of the Republic of Florence under the House of Medicis; and says, moreover, that, having given the preference to this latter subject, as he considered it the most interesting, he had already prepared many rich materials to compose it. If Gibbon had put his hand to, and had completed, this historical work, no other man, probably, would have ventured upon writing the History of the Tuscan Republics, after the finest part of this history had been treated by so great and celebrated a pen. It was the good fortune of our literature that Gibbon, meditating upon the ruins of the capitol, in his journey to Rome, turned his attention towards the Decay and Fall of the Roman Empire; and the History of Tuscany, in its most brilliant period, and in the most interesting epochs of the moral and political vicissitudes which distinguished it, remained untouched, in order to exercise the erudition of our own Pignotti.

This work, although posthumous, of which we

are now speaking, in order not to interrupt the narration of his literary labours, because the true life of a literary man consists altogether in his productions, must have cost Pignotti long and painful study, and a fatigue which was very ill compatible with his already advanced age. Having been a poet when a young man, he reserved the last years of his life to the gravity of the historian. We should be guilty of arrogance were we to wish to anticipate an opinion upon this work. But it may be lawful for the author of the Account of the Life and the Works of Pignotti, to note all therein which is among the attributes of the man, and the citizen, rather than the author. The moderation and the wisdom with which Pignotti judges of events brought about by the most uncontrollable passions of the man, and his decided aversion to all those popular movements, which some would be tempted to call democratic independence, and which he always calls movements of the mob; the veneration he pays, and the interest he evinces in following up the origin and successive aggrandizement of the Medicean House, around which, as the centre of security and peace, the long inquietudes which agitated Tuscany became appeased and extinguished, prove the sense of rectitude which guided him in political affairs, and the profound knowledge of human nature which he possessed. This work, which is far more important than the *Metamorphoses* of Sulmonese, might have received like those a greater degree of per-

fection under the pen of the author if he had been in time to correct it, and in this respect we cannot refrain from shedding a tear of sorrow over that work as we are ready to shed many over his tomb.

The History of Tuscany, to the completion of which Pignotti devoted himself with all diligence, produced two effects in the latter course of his life. On the one hand, it obliged the state in justice to grant him *otium cum dignitate*; on the other, it contributed every day to wear out more and more his vacillating health.

He was dispensed in the year 1801 from the public lectures, and in the following year was exonerated entirely from the labours of his chair, in order that he might enjoy more leisure to employ himself upon the continuation and completion of his historical work. He was promoted to the rank of Royal Historiographer, and was declared counsellor of the sovereign in all matters of public instruction; and finally, in 1807, he attained the highest post of literary dignity in Tuscany, in being appointed Auditor of the Royal University of Pisa.

But if Tuscany is to possess in Pignotti an historian who leaves us no reason to envy England for her Hume and her Robertson, she is indebted for it to the goodness and munificence with which his Imperial and Royal Highness the Grand Duke Ferdinand III., at present on the throne, always treated him. This best of princes, a friend from

his early years of letters and the learned, paid respect to the talents of Pignotti, by admitting him into the select circle of men of science, with whom he frequently chose to enter into familiar conversation, and thought him worthy of increasing, by his presence, the delights of his country diversions at Poggio a Cajano, to which the sovereign, in his goodness, frequently invited him. The project which Pignotti conceived of writing a Tuscan History exactly at this epoch, and when he on that account enjoyed an unlimited celebrity, proves that he considered he had not as yet duly paid his debt of attachment to his native country, and gratitude to his sovereign, if he did not give Tuscany a history she was without.

The honourable office of the direction of Tuscan studies, which Pignotti had exercised with so much utility to public instruction since the year 1801, became, after the year 1808, an inconvenient burthen upon his shoulders. In 1809, Pignotti was attacked with a stroke of apoplexy, which had the appearance of being nervous, in the palace of his illustrious protectors and hosts, the princes Corsini in Florence, where Pignotti, who had been admitted by the liberality and friendship of the Grand Prior Lorenzo of this name, was also detained by an equal trait of friendship and liberality in the excellent princes his nephews, to whom the society of Pignotti was always equally dear, as is the memory they still preserve of him. From that

epoch, his friends and those who were most frequently with him, began to remark a weakness of memory in him, which continued gradually to increase, particularly when regarding recent affairs, although he preserved a most lively and ready recollection of ancient events. His intellectual faculties were progressively further weakened by repeated attacks of apoplexy to which he was subject. His inclination to tears proved that his vigour of mind was no longer the same. His tours from Pisa to Florence in the warm season, which he so much delighted in, were wholly laid aside, and he remained permanently at Pisa, a sojourn which was reputed by physicians as better adapted to his state of health.

Pignotti, when a young man, had neglected no means of strengthening his physical constitution. The game of the ball, of equipoising, the chase, in which, however, he never gave proofs of great dexterity, and above all, fencing, were the gymnastic exercises with which he endeavoured to invigorate his body, whilst he enriched his mind by study. In this latter exercise he found a competitor in his friend the Count Frederick Borbolani Montauto. He endeavoured also to recreate his mind with pleasing distraction, was fond of music, particularly instrumental, and was sufficiently skilful in playing the flute and the mandoline. He cannot be reproached with having given himself up to any kind of excess; and sobriety was one of his favourite

virtues. Having adopted the method of taking one meal only a-day, he steadily adhered to the plan, even to the last periods of his life, and probably only allowed himself the excessive use of coffee, which he loved with transport, and which, according to his system, was to supply the place of wine, from which he constantly abstained.

It would have appeared that Pignotti, by this austere and methodic regulation, should have enjoyed a longer course of life. But the strength of nature which was already weakened by long study, frequently protracted to a late hour of the night, appeared to abandon his mind entirely, if it deserted not his body also with equal celerity. The latter periods of the life of this learned man presented a very proper phenomenon to humble human pride. Pope quoted the weakness of the character of Bacon, in order to shew that no person ought to be proud of the superiority of his knowledge. We can quote, not the weakness, but the absolute death, of the spirit of Pignotti, who was still animated and alive, in order to strengthen the same moral precept. This great man, in whose countenance every person might contemplate the unaltered lineaments which mark the literato, who had so often instructed and enlivened the societies which had the good fortune to possess him, was condemned in his latter days to the life almost of an automaton. The incomprehensible nullity of his spirit announced an internal and secret prin-

ciple of universal weakness, and freed from apoplectic attacks, he was assailed on a sudden by a very furious inflammatory one of the bladder, which took him from the world on the 5th of August, 1812, after religion had administered to him those succours which his deplorable state of mind could admit of.

The moral character alone of Lorenzo Pignotti would deserve an eulogy of itself. Although we have given some hint of it in the course of these accounts of his life and works, we should not think we had done sufficient justice to his memory if we said nothing more of it. When, upon reading the literary history of the men who illustrated the sixteenth century with their works and writings, we discover the indecent rage with which they pull each other to pieces, we are tempted to believe that philosophical paradox, which describes sciences and letters as uniquely capable of corrupting and degrading human nature, and this temptation is not given to us sometimes from times so very remote. In Pignotti, the cultivation of letters appeared to complete a certain sense of moral rectitude, which he never belied in all the actions of his life. Naturally, or at least in appearance, phlegmatic, the placid nature of his manners stamped a new character of goodness upon his deportment and discourse. Rendered superior to envy by the literary successes which attended him since his early years, either he knew nothing of it from a sense of supe-

riority, or could not know it from a goodness which was innate in him. Inexhaustible in his poetic talents, he neither knew that jealousy by profession, which often mixes gall and wormwood in the ambrosia with which the Muses, according to the saying of a celebrated literato, ought always to live; and he beheld with indifference, and frequently with a smile, others in distant countries appropriating to themselves poetic compositions which were made by him, although they could not say, like Paul of Martial, that the compositions were their own by right of purchase.

As a public man, familiar with the great, Pignotti merited their confidence, because he never abused it; and when he became head of the public instruction he called himself fortunate alone, because he was enabled to be useful to the persons he valued. Young men who announced genius and a disposition for study, found in him a protector and a father. Admitted on account of the excellent moral qualities with which he was endowed, and the literary merit which distinguished him into the society of the powerful and the great; enabled to penetrate at times into the source of grace, he apprized this favour first as a homage paid to letters, and in the second place, as the means whereby he could make those talents known, which deserved to be either protected or distinguished. And how many persons of talent in Tuscany would

have remained either unknown or neglected, had it not been for the assistance of Pignotti!

As a private individual Pignotti gave himself up to the impulse of a beneficent heart without limits; and it was a maxim he often repeated, that no pleasure can be imagined to be more satisfactory and pure than that which is derived from succouring an unfortunate. A lady of quality, who had made a handsome figure in the world, falling, from political events, into misery in her old age, had recourse to Pignotti, who assisted her with a considerable sum of money, when the latter at the same time thanked her for having had confidence in him, and for having given him an opportunity of exercising an office of humanity. After her death, the heirs, hearing of this assistance, wished to return the sum to Pignotti, who refused it, saying, that he had been sufficiently recompensed by the pleasure of assisting an unfortunate.

The tranquillity of his literary career, like that of his domestic life, was not poisoned by any of those displeasures which not rarely accompany great celebrity. If he knew that he was not without the invidious or enemies, (and who is there, who, living amongst mankind, has them not?) he never regarded envy, and feigned to take no notice of the enmity borne him by others. He never permitted himself any trait, either in private or in public, which announced a mind provoked by

the rancour of others: he was either silent upon his enemies, or endeavoured to excuse them. As a literato, he was persuaded of one truth, which he often repeated to his friends, that is, that if a work is bad it is properly depreciated, and if good, it is of itself sufficient to defend itself without the necessity of entering into intrigues and disputes. He considered the censures that were passed even unjustly upon a literary production, as the best service that could be done to the work, in as far as they dispose the curiosity of others to read it; and quoted for this purpose the example of Hume, who said that a writing of his, upon being attacked by Warburton, went through many editions alone on this account, whilst another, which had not enjoyed this honour, lay forgotten in the warehouse of the printer.

Even in matters in which he was more at home, and upon which he had greater right to decide, and make the authority of his own opinion prevail, he never arrogated to himself that impatient and decisive tone which is so displeasing, even from the lips of those who may be in the right. Pignotti approved not either the style or the economy of the drama of Alfieri. When this great and extraordinary man was in Pisa, occupied in the project of giving a true and perfect tragedy to Italy, he did not fail to consult amongst others, Pignotti, who endeavoured to persuade him by examples, drawn particularly from Metastasio, that there may be a sublime dramatic style without stiffness. Al-

fieri somewhat corrected his style, and Pignotti had no small share in this change, which was owing more to the manner with which the counsel had been given, than to the counsel itself, because another professor, who had pretended to impose upon the high genius of the tragedian with the tone of doctorial authority, became the object of a pungent epigram.

The conversation of Pignotti, whenever he freely abandoned himself to the effusion of his heart and intellect, was at once interesting and instructive. With a memory rich in the exquisite beauties of the Latin, Italian, French, and English, classics, and of the most choice anecdotes of the literary and civil history of every age and country, he possessed something with which he could embellish every subject upon which he turned his discourse, and to instruct without affectation in every matter. Whoever knows little, and is obliged to make a parade of his genius to say what he knows when the opportunity presents itself, has invented that proverb, that the immorality is offensive of any man who is the first to pronounce that a trait of *esprit* is worth the loss of a friend. The riches of acquirements possessed by Pignotti, gave him the means of spending them without injuring the self-love of any one. A project was once conceived of keeping an account of all that he said in his conversation of the philosophical, the erudite, the critical, and of original reflection. This project

was not carried into execution ; and if it had been, the collection that would have been given to the world, would have occupied a distinguished post, and perhaps the first, in that collection of sayings and thoughts in which it is uncertain if all belong to the great men with whose names they are entitled.

The testament of Pignotti was the expression of those sentiments of gratitude which his heart so much delighted in. With a legacy, small, it is true, for the subject to whom it was left, but precious on account of the manner in which it was conceived, he left a pledge of remembrance to the princes Corsini, of the affection with which, during his life, he had been always treated by the individuals of that illustrious family. Mindful always of what he owed his brother-in-law Bonci, he considered the children of his sister who was married to him as his own, and honoured them by constituting them his general heirs.

The works of Pignotti will transmit to the most remote posterity the lively image of his genius ; and two great contemporary artists, with means less independent, it is true, of the injury of time and human vicissitudes, will hand down the true picture of the great characteristics which distinguished him,—the Signior Peter Benvenuti, in a picture which is preserved in the gallery of the princes Corsini, and the Signior Anthony Santarelli, in a model of relief in wax intrusted to him for ex-

ecution by the Professor Rosini, and which he now preserves.

The mortal remains of Pignotti, if we are to believe *hoc manes curare sepultos*, deserved a place in the midst of those tombs in the Campo Santo of Pisa which awaken the memory of so many illustrious defunct: and we are indebted to the brothers Bonci, his heirs, for the mausoleum, which will point out, in that ample and venerable enclosure, alike to contemporaries and posterity, the place where the father of Italian fable terminated his brilliant career.

HISTORY OF TUSCANY.

BOOK I.

THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF ETRURIA.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ETRURIANS.—THEIR SPLENDOUR.—DIVISION OF ETRURIA.—PRINCIPAL CITIES.—GOVERNMENT.—WARS WITH ROME.—THE ETRURIANS BECOME EFFEMINATE.—ARE FINALLY SUBJUGATED TO THE ROMANS.

THE desire of boasting an ancient origin has always prevailed, not only in families, but amongst whole nations. Both the one and the other, by searching too far into remote ages, lose themselves in the mists of antiquity, and sometimes a convenient obscurity serves to conceal a doubtful genealogy. Often, however, fable has supplied the absence of truth, and raised a splendid edifice upon a very slender foundation. There is no nation which boasts a more honourable descent than the Etrurians or Tuscans, nor is there, probably, another whose origin is more involved in uncertainty, or more enveloped in fable. The Pelasgi, whom ancient historians so frequently mention, were one of the two wandering Greek tribes, Pelasgian and Hellenian: the former consisted of men the most rude and savage;

and if any of them approached and established themselves in Italy, they had not for their object the civilization and instruction of its inhabitants.

In endeavouring to trace this celebrated people from foreign emigrations, nothing is more calculated to involve the reader in perplexity than the various opinions of early writers upon the origin of the Etrurians. By selecting fragments from the works of those who, probably, themselves had followed uncertain traditions, and by noting some similarity of custom, language, and superstitious rites, their descent has been traced from various parts of the earth. Even the most learned, as Buonarrotti, Maffei, Freret, &c., have wandered on this ocean of conjecture with equal uncertainty. * One infers their rise from the Egyptians; † another from the Canaanites; ‡ a third, both from these and the Phenicians; § a fourth, from the Lydians and Pelasgi; others, from various parts of Asia, as far as the territory that lies between the Caspian and Euxine Seas, celebrated for the subsequent emigrations of those hordes of barbarians who effected the destruction of the Roman Empire||. From these various Eastern points, some have conducted their tribes to Etruria by sea; whilst others, searching into times prior to the art of navigation, bring them by land, and by a strange tour to arrive in Italy, make them first penetrate into Germany. Certain French historians, and among these Freret¶, deriding such opinions, in order to establish the early population of Etruria on a better foundation, turn themselves to the west, and deduce their origin from the people of Trentino; whilst others point out a route by

* Buonarrotti. † Maffei. ‡ Mazzocchi.

§ Serv. in Virg. || Durandi. ¶ Histor. de l'Academ., tom. 18.

** Guarnacci.

which, immediately after the deluge, an Asiatic colony came to Tuscany;—and, finally, there are those who, instead of bringing into this province a Greek colony, maintain that both population and arts were poured from Etruria into Greece; nor are there wanting conjectural examples to support this opinion. Dardanus, founder of Troy, is often called by Virgil and by Servius, a native of Etruria, son of Corytus, or of Jupiter. Passing from Italy into Phrygia, he becomes author of the Trojan race, and founder of that celebrated city*; whence it follows, that instead of being the sons of the Phrygians or Greeks, we become their fathers! And Plato further tells us, that the religious rites of Etruria had penetrated into Greece†.

Leaving those to enjoy their scrupulous credulity, who, willing to reconcile apparent contradictions, maintain that the emigration first took place from Etruria into Greece, and thence returned to Etruria, we must abandon those fabulous traditions from which innumerable volumes have been compiled. The exposition of so many contradictory opinions is alone sufficient, to confute their authors, and involve them in impenetrable obscurity. It is not necessary that we should endeavour to trace our origin from any foreign nation, however celebrated: on the contrary, it must be gratifying to our national pride, to know that we are citizens of a country distinguished for arts and letters even from the most remote ages. In the general uncertainty, every Tuscan will readily embrace this decision; yet he will nevertheless acknowledge the probability that a Grecian colony was formed in some part of Italy. But even

* Coryti Tyrrhena à sede profectum. Virg. *Æn.* l. 7, v. 209.
Hinc Dardanus Ortus. Virg. *Æn.* l. 3., v. 16.

† De Legibus.

with this concession, he will reflect on the impossibility of a miserable race of pirates or barbarians, who abandoned their native country, bringing with them those elegant arts and sciences which flourished in Etruria.

The epoch of ancient Etrurian splendour preceded the times of history, when nations less rude, thinking simple truth too unimportant, wished either to render it more wonderful by mixture with fable, or more august by covering it with religious mystery. The Marquis Maffei, one of those who have most distinguished themselves in inquiry, and many others, believe every thing uncertain that appertains to Italy before the rise of Rome. Then it is that a ray of light begins to dawn; but in this obscure path we cannot tread with safety until later ages. We can only believe that the kingdom of Etruria and its splendour arose in the most remote times; that it preceded all the nations of Europe; and rivalled the Egyptians themselves. This may be inferred even from the uncertainty of its origin, from the loss of its books, its historians, its language, (events which could only have taken place in a very long lapse of time,) and from many passages of the most ancient writers; to which may be added also the respectable opinion of illustrious modern authors*.

Another natural observation may here be noticed, *viz.*, that it is beyond doubt some kind of animal has been entirely lost; for in the books of Etrurian learning some species of birds are mentioned which were totally wanting in the time of Pliny†. But leaving obscurity, and following again those historians from whose writings some light may be discovered, Livy appears the most worthy of attention, when asserting that Etruria became

* Storia universale di una Società di Lett. Inglese.

† Diod. lib. 5. Plin. lib. 10, cap. 15. Depicta in Etrusca disciplina.

celebrated and powerful, both by land and by sea, far before Rome; in proof of which he quotes the name of the Tuscan Sea, given to the lower and upper part of the Adriatic, from *Adria*, a colony of the Etrurians, who governed on both sides of the Apennines, and even as far as the Alps*; that the Rezi or Grisons were of Tuscan origin, and still retained the sound of their language, however corrupted. From many other writers we learn that the dominion of the Tuscans extended over all Italy. Etruria was divided into three parts, the Circumpadana, the Campana, and the Media†. Her limits became narrower afterwards, and by the name of Etruria, generally speaking, is understood *La Media*, which extends from the mouth of the *Magra* to that of the *Tiber*. This was the most extensive line: on the opposite boundary, the chain of the Apennines which approach the sea towards the west, confine it, whilst the *Tiber*, rising from the same mountains, and flowing towards the east until constrained by the declivities, it is obliged to turn towards the south to discharge itself into the sea, spreads itself along the shore. This long coast had various cities and ports, which, in the course

* The passage itself is worthy of insertion. “*Tuscorum ante Romanum Imperium latè terra mariquæ Alpes patuere: mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulæ modo cingitur, quantum potuerint nomina sunt Argumento quod alterum Tuscum communi vocabulo gentium, alterum Adriacum ab Adria Tuscorum Colonia vocavere Italicæ gentes, hic in utrumque mare vergentis incoluere urbibus duodenis terras prius eis Apenninum ad inferum mare, post trans Apenninum totidem, quod capita originis erant coloniis missis, quæ trans Padum omnia loca, excepto venetorum angulo qui sinum circumcolunt maris usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quoque gentibus ea haud dubio origo est maximè. Rhetis quos loca ipsa efferarunt ne quid ex antiquo præter sonum linguæ nec eum incorruptum tenuere.*”—Tit. Liv. dec. 1, lib. 5.

† Cellar. Geograph. tom. 2.

of ages, have undergone many changes. The ancient Luni covered the last western point of Etruria on the left bank of the Magra*. Her large and convenient port, the present Gulf of Spezia, rendered her commerce flourishing, and her power respectable; she fell and rose again several times, was deserted and ruined in the days of Lucan†; was again peopled in later ages, and at this moment historians dispute her precise situation‡; her name remains to the adjacent country, called the Lunigiana, which she probably governed. Continuing on the shore towards the east, and leaving names little certain, as the Wood of Ferrania and others, we meet with Pisa, whose shore and harbour have so often changed: situated upon the triangle formed at that time by the junction of the Arno with the Serchio§, this town was highly adapted to commerce, the junction of the two rivers forming a body of water sufficient to float the largest vessels of those ages. In the celebrated burial of the Tuscan coast, the sea has been removed from Pisa, and her harbour changed. After Ercole

* We follow the opinion of Holstenius and Cellarius, rather than that of Cluverius, who places it on the right bank.

† Desertæ mœnia Lunæ. Luc.

‡ Luni might have been illustrated by a poem of my learned friend Raimondo Cocchi, had not death immaturely terminated his labours. This poem, entitled "The Ruin of Luni," was already laid out in prose; I have seen two cantos of it, full of imagination and sentiment; one of which was published by the Author in verses of various metre, beginning thus:

Senti che batte ancor l' onda marina
Sulle rive di Luni e freme il Vento,
Ma la città de' popoli reina
E' fatta Campo, e vi muggi l' armento.

It would have been desirable if the proæ manuscript had been given us.

§ Strab. Geograph.

Labrone (now the commercial and populous Leghorn), we come to the Vada Volterrana. The neighbouring Volterra, which, from her saline springs, produces the salt for Tuscany, worked it also in the times of Rutilius, by drying in the sun the stagnant water of the sea*. Upon these salt-pits Rutilius contemplated the villa of his colleague Albinus. Vetulonia, from the analogy of the name with the wood of Vetulia, or Vetletta, we must probably place near the little river Cornia, which falls into the hot waters, called the Caldane. Between the tower of S. Vincenzo, and the ruins of Populonia, are still to be seen the remains of a city which can only belong to the ancient Vetulonia, which was one of the most respectable cities of Etruria, and from which the Romans imitated their consular fasces, and other decorations of their magistrates†. Next follows Populonia, situated upon a high promontory, which, extending into the sea, approaches the island of Elba, from whence is seen below the canal of Piombino, which town, risen perhaps from the ruins of the former, is distant from it three miles: the beautiful and convenient harbour of Populonia is described by Strabo, and has now the name of Portobaratto‡. This city suffered various

* Rutil. Num. itiner.

Subjectus villæ vacat aspectare salinas
Qua mare terrenis declive canalibus intrat
Ast ubi flagrantès advomit Syrius ignes
Tam cataractarum claustris excluditur æquor
Ut fixos latices horrida duret humus,
Concipiunt acrem nativa coagula Phœbum
Et gravis æstiva crusta calore coit.

† Silius Ital. Lib. 8.

Mæoniæque hæc prima dedit precedere fasces,
Et junxit toutidem tacito terrore securæ.
Hæc altæ eboris decoravit honore curules,
Et princeps Tyrio vestem prætexuit ostro.

‡ Cluver. Ital. Antiq. lib. 2.

changes; it is believed to be one of the twelve cities of Etruria, was ruined in the times of Sylla, and in after ages was more than once destroyed and rebuilt. Not far from Populonia, we discover in the modern Massa, the ancient Massa Veternense, the birth-place of Cæsar Gallus*. On the other side of the promontory, where the sea winds along the land, was the ancient harbour of Falesia, and the lake of Prile is now the lake of Castiglione†. Between this and the Ombrone, at a small distance from the sea, was Rosulum, also called one of the twelve Etrurian cities‡. The fabulous origin of the neighbouring harbour of Telamon, leads us down to the times of the Argonauts: destroyed afterwards and forgotten, it was again repaired by the Siennese in the lower ages, for the convenience of the Florentines, when their enmity with the Pisans shut them out of the harbour of Pisa. Then follows the other promontory, or Mount Argentarius, which stretches itself into the sea near the small island Giglio attached to the continent by a small tongue of land, it forms a peninsula, and contains to the east, Porto Ercole, to the west, the modern Orbitello. At the beginning of the small isthmus was Cosa, a desert since the times of Rutilius, probably the modern Ansidonia§. Graviscae, which took its name from the fetid smell of the marshes, was situated near the river Marta, which empties into the sea the superfluous waters of the lake of Bolsena||. Centum-

* Ammian. Marcel. lib. 14. cap. 40.

† Cic. pro Mil. Cell. Geogra. Antiq. tom. 2.

‡ Dion. Halic. lib. 3.

§ The fable of the rats, whose invasion drove away from Cosa its inhabitants, is a sufficient proof of the desolation of the city.

—RUTIL.

|| Inde Gravisorum fastigia rora videmus

Quas premit æstivæ sæpe paludis odor.—RUTIL.

cellæ, or the harbour of Trajan, built and adorned by him with magnificent works, contained the delightful villa of this emperor, so much admired by Pliny*. Finally the Tiber, with its two branches forming the sacred island†, and discharging itself into the sea, terminated the Etrurian coast: that of Augustus upon the right branch, still preserves the name of harbour, as Ostia upon the left; and the salt-pits established by the king, Ancus Martius, are continued to the present day, though the spot may have undergone some variation on account of the approach of the shore.

Having thus run along the maritime coast, it would appear necessary to mention the twelve cities into which Etruria was divided, but which they were we cannot assert with certainty; we must, therefore, be contented with noting some of them, either considered as such, or which deserve, from their celebrity, to be distinguished above the rest. Pisa and Volterra, by many historians, are not registered among the cities which formed the kingdom of Etruria‡; not because their antiquity and splendour were inferior to the others, but on account of a different government causing them to be considered as foreign to the Etrurian constitution. Other writers again reckon them amongst the first§, and as each indi-

* Plin. lib. 6. Epist. 31.

† qua fronte bicornis
Dividius Tiberi dexteriora secat.—RUTIL.

It is strange how one of the most accurate writers upon ancient geography, Cellarius, has confounded the sacred island at the mouth of the Tiber with that situated in Rome itself.—Cell. geog. ant. lib. 2. cap. 9.

‡ Dempster. Etruria regalis.

§ Hos parere jubent Alpheæ ab origine Pisæ
Urbs Etrusca solo.—Virg. Æn. l. 10, p. 179.

The precise and exact Virgil probably meant to denote by the

vidual supports his opinion by the testimony of historians equally respectable, we can easily reconcile their statements by supposing that at some periods they have been united to the kingdom of Etruria, at others separated from it, as will appear from a review of the ill-formed Etrurian government, which will be speedily attempted. Arretium, Cortona, and Perugia, although in ancient times not mentioned amongst the first cities, became so shortly afterwards*. Arretium was celebrated for its wall, compared by Vitruvius to that of Athens towards Mount Hymettus. Arretium and Cortona probably rose from the ruins of Corytum, which was for a time the largest, the most powerful and celebrated among the Etrurian cities; but as we do not find it mentioned in the wars of the Romans with Etruria, we must conjecture that it was destroyed in the civil dissensions of the Etrurians themselves. The greater part of the other towns, in the long lapse of ages have fallen into oblivion; of some we can only assign the ancient site by very dubious conjecture, whilst of others nothing remains but a skeleton of their ancient greatness, and the celebrity of the name. Veii was situated twelve miles distant from Rome†. Antiquarians doubtfully point out to us its site in the modern Scrofano, or rather upon a steep rock opposite to the island Farnesia‡. Although from the valorous resist-

words ‘*Urbs Etrusca solo*,’ a city placed in the soil of Etruria, but not united to the Etrurian confederation.

* Tit. Liv. lib. 1. cap. 9. “Itaque a Cortonæ, Perugia, Arretio, quæ ferme capita populorum Etruria eâ tempestate fuerunt legati, &c.”—“Tres validissimæ urbes Etruria capita Vulsinii, Perugia. Arretium pacem petiere.”

† Cluver. (Ital. Antiq.) thinks the text of Livy to have been corrupted, and that the 20th mile-stone (lapidem) should be corrected for the 12th. Cellarius also reduces the miles to 12.

‡ Cluv. Holsten. and Cellar.

ance it opposed to the Romans, we may form great ideas of this city, yet few will feel induced to believe the assertions of an ancient author, that it rivalled even Athens in greatness*. It was one of the most powerful rivals of Rome in her early rise, and the obstinate war between the two cities ceased only with the total destruction of Veii. The site of Falerii is uncertain; Cluverius places it in the present Civita Castellana, others at Gallese, and Cellarius presumes it to be the city of the Falisci. Tarquene was a city near the sea, not far from Cornetò, a mile distant from which are seen the ruins of a town, called even to this day by the inhabitants Tarquene†. Near Tarquene was Agylla, since called Cere, now Cervitere, on a stony hill, four miles distant from the sea, as described by Virgil‡. Volsinium, now Bolsena, illustrated, or more properly obscured, by the birth of Sejanus, still exists; as also Clusium, or Chiusi, called by the ancient Etrurians, Camars. Fiesole, a city mentioned as populous and powerful, continued to decline with the increase of her daughter Florence, which latter city, an illustrious author, upon very weak proofs (which are even refuted by the continued silence of succeeding writers, and by evidence more certain of its origin), has pretended to place amongst the ancient towns of Etruria§.

Many of these cities distinguished themselves particularly, in one or more of the fine arts which then flourished in Etruria; Arretium in pottery, whence the Aretine vases became so celebrated; Tarquene in the various models formed from clay; Volsinium (which was, perhaps, the

* Dionys. Halicarn. † Cluv. Ital. Antiq.

‡ Hand procul hinc saxo colitur fundata vetusto

Urbis Agyllinæ sedes. Virg. Æneid. lib. 8, v. 479.

§ Lami, Lez. d' Antich. Toscana.

city of workmen), in sculpture; Perugia and Cortona in bronze; Chiusi in incisions in fine stones; Volterra in the sculpture of alabaster, and the material being still found in the neighbourhood, it has recently excited the genius of moderns to give new life to that art.

The government of ancient Etruria is very uncertain; it would have been known better if the book of Aristotle had been preserved, in which, as Athenæus testifies, he treated of the ancient governments of Italy, and amongst them, of the Etrurian. In the midst of uncertainty, however, we may consider it as an established fact, that the twelve populations, or cities, formed a federative government, of which we have various proofs. Their deputies met on all important occasions near Viterbo, at the *fanum Voltumnæ*, to treat of public affairs*: this assembly resembled the Amphytrionic council of the Græcian cities, which met every year, although it appears that the Etrurian council did not meet annually, but only in cases of extraordinary emergency. Every city had a right to make war or peace for herself, to live as a republic, or to create a head, a king, or *lucumone*, to unite themselves with any other city, and conjointly make war; whence the ties which linked this confederation together were very weak, as we learn from the various details of ancient writers, and particularly from Livy. Veii made war against the Romans almost always alone, nor did the other cities ever interfere, unless they perceived, that by the oppression of Veii, the whole force of the Romans would be directed against them. In the last war, Veii elected herself a king; this election gave displeasure to the other cities, more from a personal hatred to the object of their

* “*Fanum Voltumnæ*” was, perhaps, Viterbo itself. See Cluver. a Cell.

choice, than on account of the deed itself; they were not, however, regarded as rebels, and conceiving themselves to have merely exercised their rights, they solicited assistance from the rest of Etruria*.

It is here to be observed, that the creation of a king, in order to avoid the tumult which arose at the annual elections of their magistrates, civil and military, denotes a city nearly free, which has the power of creating her own rulers annually; but which, in order to avoid such tumult, has recourse in that year to the choice of a king; from which it may be inferred, that some small tie existed between the twelve cities. Whether any sovereign ever existed amongst them who possessed even a slight authority over all, has been very much disputed; the name of *Lucumo* is understood by many to denote a head, or king, of a particular city; that of *Lars*, a sovereign of all Etruria, if indeed it is not a proper name†.

From this same instability of government, whereby particular cities at times elected themselves a king, at others chose to live in freedom, they may occasionally have arrived at the election of a general sovereign, who, like the stadtholder of Holland, governed this federative republic, but with far less authority. In urgent cases of war, or of internal discord, they probably elected to themselves a head to direct the former, or to appease the latter, as has been the custom of all nations. The

* "Veientes tedis annuæ ambitionis quæ interdum causa discordiarum erat, regem creavere, offendit ea res populorum Etruriæ animos, non majore odio regni, quam ipsius regis. . . . Gens itaque auxilium Vegetibus negandum donæ sub rege essent decrevit."—Tit. Liv. dec. 1. lib. 5.

This passage, more than any other, exposes to us the bad regulated system of the Etrurian government.

† Maffei Osserv. Letter.

confusion which some author has made of these general rulers with the numerous sovereigns of the twelve cities, has probably given rise to that long list of Etrurian kings enumerated by Dempster, and which includes a period anterior to the deluge*.

The government of ancient Etruria resembled in some measure that of Tuscany before the subversion of the feudal system; it was then dissolved, and divided into as many governments as there were cities, some of which united into small turbulent republics; others, oppressed by petty tyrants, who rapidly succeeded each other, exalted and humbled with the same celerity and bad faith, wavering between despotism and licentiousness, knew neither how to serve, or to become free. This was also nearly the state of the ancient Etrurians, as appears from glimpses of their history;—so far is it true, that the genius of nations, once established by a tacit consent not well understood, continues to influence in successive ages, even the most remote, in spite of the revolutions it may undergo from time to time. That restless spirit of independence which agitated the ancient Etrurians, as well as the inhabitants of other parts of Italy, after having more frequently degenerated into licentiousness, than raised itself to liberty, finally solved the difficult problem in the great and generous mind of the Romans. By discovering the art of conciliating different interests, and making them all conspire to the national glory and utility, they fixed the limits to its executive power without weakening the action, persuaded to a rational obedience without slavery, and

* It does not appear that Lampredi, in his dissertation upon the civil government of the ancient Tuscans, allows of a general sovereign to Etruria; but the correctness of his statement is extremely doubtful.

thus formed one of the most perfect constitutions which those people have known, and which subsequently enabled them to become the masters of the world. The basis of this constitution once undermined, weakened by luxury, torn by civil wars, and oppressed by despotism, they became the slaves of barbarians, who, whether expelled from, or domiciliated among them, could not extinguish their independence, or suppress their anxiety for the execution of minor projects.

Returning to the Etrurian kings, we find in the catalogue the name of Eolus, whose superior skill in navigation, added to his numerous and successful expeditions, which enabled him to conquer and govern various islands, gave rise to the fable in which he is represented as the ruler of the winds. Herodotus and Thucydides agree in stating, that one of the earliest naval engagements took place between the Phocians on one side, and the Etrurians and Carthaginians on the other, near Sardinia. Victory decided in favour of the Phocians, who destroyed forty of the enemy's ships, and put the remainder to flight; an event which proves that Etruria was not only powerful at sea, but her alliance with the Carthaginians, a people so celebrated in commerce, leads us to a high conjecture upon the traffic of the Etrurians. We distinguish also in the list of sovereigns the name of Mezentius, to whom, perhaps, the Roman epic poet has given an infamous celebrity which he did not deserve, at least, he has strangely altered his history and falsified the events; for Æneas, instead of being enabled to hang up in triumph the arms of Mezentius, (as the poet, in order to honour his hero, informs us,) was killed in battle against the latter, his body remaining unburied, an occurrence so much dreaded by the superstitious ancients, and even by Æneas himself; nor was

the fact wholly unknown to Virgil, as it is found amongst the other prophetic imprecations of the dying Dido*. Certainly ancient historians, as Pompeius, Festus, and Servius himself, who quotes Varro, accord the victory to Mezentius; and Livy, who praises so much the Romans, passing over this event with an affected ambiguity, confirms us still more in our opinion. If it were true that Mezentius waged war in favour of the Rutuli against the Latins, upon the condition of receiving as a reward the wines that might be found in the Latin camp, as Varro, Pliny, and Ovid† attest, (who make the Roman festival, called Vinalia, originate from this circumstance,) it would set before us at once both the meanness of the objects which interested such heroes, and the intemperance of Mezentius. His character will appear less atrocious, if we call to mind that the horrible cruelty of attaching dead bodies to living ones, was not his invention, but a punishment used among the Etrurians‡. Nevertheless, the character of Mezentius will always be considered as cruel; the fine verses of Virgil impress it as such upon tender minds, as also those of the innocent Dido, and many other victims of poetical imagination§.

* As the last words of the dying Dido are a prophecy of all that should happen to Æneas upon his entry into Italy, and to his successors, we may take for part of that prophecy the following verse:—

*Sed cadat ante diem, mediaque inhumatus arena
Hæc precor, hanc precem extremam cum sanguine fundo.*

ÆN. lib. 4.

† Varr. cit. de Plin. l. 14. cap. 12. Ovid. Fast. l. 4.

‡ Cic. in Hortens. Servius.

§ None of the ancient historians mention the voyage of Æneas into Africa; on the contrary, in the greater part of the chronologies, Dido is placed three ages before Æneas, that of Newton

In the meantime, that formidable city, which was destined not only to rule over Etruria, but to conquer and govern the finest provinces of the globe, was rising and increasing in power. The origin of the Romans, like that of all other nations, is enveloped in fable; but the *Æneid* has rendered common to the civilized world the immortal deeds by which they became so deservedly distinguished*.

In the midst of fabulous accounts, which either alter or embellish the truth, there are some facts upon which the most credited historians agree, *viz.*, that the Trojans, sons probably of the Etrurians, were the authors of this celebrated people. After the capture of Troy, *Æneas* retired with numerous followers to Pergamus, a fortress where the precious things and the tutelary gods were preserved; but, unable to hold out long, he repaired to the most inaccessible part of Mount Ida,

alone making those illustrious personages contemporary. The Abbé Andres has dedicated to this subject an entire dissertation, in which he has displayed much learning, in order to justify Virgil from the charge of anacronism, and rests his argument on the scrupulous delicacy and judgment of the poet. But errors of a similar nature occur in the writings of this author; and among them, that in which *Palinurus*, in the sixth book of the *Æneid*, mentions the port *Velino*, which did not exist in the time of *Æneas*, as noticed by *Gellius*, in his *Attic Nights*. The proof therefore rests on the authority of the Newtonian chronology, which has been already confuted by the astronomical observations of *Whiston*, and the reasoning of *Freret* and others. (*See Bailly's Hist. de l'Astronom.*) The error of Virgil has, in this instance, produced verses so truly pathetic and elegant, that the fault becomes excusable; and the more so, when we consider that the times of which he treats are obscure and fabulous, and chronology, even in our own days, uncertain.

* *Livy* says, with much judgment, "Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat."

where he was joined by a great multitude from the conquered city, and the neighbouring castles. The Greeks were preparing to attack this last asylum of the Trojans, but not finding the enterprise easy, and tired of a long war, they suffered them to depart with their property*. The Trojans speedily embarked, and after traversing the Hellespont, arrived in Thrace, at the peninsula Pallene, inhabited by the Cruseans, their allies.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an excellent critic upon those historians of Troy who existed in his time, assures us that amongst all the tales of the vicissitudes of Æneas, this was the most probable. From Pallene, after touching various islands of the Archipelago, he arrived at Buthrotum, a port of Epirus, where, with some chosen companions, he went to visit the oracle of Dodona: to establish the truth of this journey, Dionysius mentions some very ancient vases of bronze which existed even at his time in that temple, on which was engraved an ancient inscription attesting the fact.

Virgil, in his voyage of Æneas, has greatly followed the history which must have been sufficiently known in his time; because the arrival of Æneas in Sicily, the numerous friends he found there, and the burning of the ships, to which they were instigated by the Trojan women, are not poetical embellishments simply, but are found in ancient histories. The prediction of the Harpies, who threatened the Trojans with a famine which should cause them to devour their tables; the observation of Ascanius on his first arrival in Italy, of having devoured those tables formed of beds of bread upon the grass†, appear to the severe critic stories too puerile, and unworthy the majesty of an epic poem: the author,

* Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2.

† Virg. Æn. lib. 3. v. 7.

however, deserves some indulgence for flattering thereby the taste of his fellow-citizens, by whom such tales, as the most grave historians inform us, were greatly esteemed*. The remaining vicissitudes of Æneas, of his descendants, and the birth of Rome, are too well known, and too much mixed with fable, for a prudent writer either to be detained by them, or to draw from them any important information.

20th Year
of Rome.

Scarcely was Rome born when we find her engaged in war with the Etrurians. Romulus turning his arms against the Veientes, more than once occasioned bloody quarrels; and Veii being the city of Etruria nearest to Rome, was frequently opposed to the Romans, and kept them in constant exercise of the dreadful art of war. The town of Fidenæ, five miles distant from Rome†, was frequently the object of violent contention between the two people: conquered by Romulus, it rebelled against the Romans under Tullus Hostilius, and took part with the Veientes. In spite of the treachery of Metius, king of Alba, who allied himself with the Romans, and abandoned them in the heat of the battle, the Veientes were defeated, and Fidenæ retaken; the treacherous king of Alba was ordered to be hanged by the enraged conqueror between two bent trees, which, turning furiously one against the other,

* Dionys. Halicar. lib. 1.

† Fidenæ was situated near the confluence of the Ariene with the Tiber.—Liv. lib. 4. This city was very populous under Tiberius, in the 12th year of whose reign, as Tacitus informs us, a theatre was destroyed in Fidenæ during a representation of a fight of gladiators, whereby 50,000 souls were killed or wounded. We may suppose that the whole of this population did not belong to Fidenæ, but was greatly increased by a concourse from Rome and the neighbourhood.

horribly crushed the body*. Ancus Martius fought several times against the Romans, and beat them. But above all the other kings of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus was most at variance with the Tuscans.

146. Five Etrurian cities, Clusium, Rosulum, Volterra, Aretium, and Vetulonia, united with the Latins against the Romans; but this confederation was frequently broken, more by the valour than the power of Tarquin†. A fatal rivalship was now declared between Rome and Etruria; the rising power of Rome astonished the surrounding people; the whole of the Etrurian cities united against so dangerous an enemy, and after various deliberations, marched a powerful army, passed the Tiber, where, surprising and entering Fidene by stratagem, they scattered terror and desolation throughout the Roman territory.

152. Tarquin, thus taken by surprise, did not venture into the country during a whole year. In the meantime the Romans collected two armies, with one of which Tarquin marched against Veii, discomfited his enemies, and desolated their country; Collatinus, however, who commanded the other, in endeavouring

156. to recover Fidenæ, was completely beaten by the garrison with which it had been reinforced. Tarquin triumphed again in his attack against Argylla, but the devastation of the country, and a large booty, were the only effects of his victory.

157. The following year was more fortunate for Rome. Fidenæ, a place so important and so dangerous to the Romans, demanded equally their attention to recover it, as that of the Etrurians to maintain it: the latter had a powerful force both within and

* Tit. Liv. lib. 1. Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 3.

† Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 3.

without; the Etrurians, however, being conquered in the open field, the siege of Fidenæ was now carried on with greater obstinacy; and being finally taken by the Romans, the rebels were punished with the scourge and with death, the Etrurian garrison sold as slaves, the citizens expelled, and the lands of the Fidenates divided amongst the Roman soldiery, who remained masters of the city. To avenge this insult, another formidable Etrurian army was collecting among the Sabines; but the active Tarquin, before the Etrurian cities had each sent

159. their contingent, attacked them near Eretum*, and gained a most complete victory, obliging the panic-struck Etrurians to sue for peace at the foot of their conqueror. The deputies, in order to appease Tarquin, reminded him of his Etrurian origin†; and although he received them with the imperious language of a victor, a peace was stipulated after nine‡ years' war, making the Etrurians partially dependant upon the Romans. The only homage rendered to the king of Rome, was probably the ensigns of sovereignty sent him, the crown of gold, the throne of ivory, the sceptre, &c.; ornaments which decorated the splendid triumph of Tarquin.

Peace, however, lasted only a few years. It was equally important both to the Sabines and to the Etrurians to regain Fidenæ: a proposition was therefore made by the former to some Etrurian city, to take up arms and unite itself with them. The two armies of the Sabines and Etrurians were encamped near Fidenæ, below the conflux of the Anio with the Tiber, upon the two opposite banks of the latter river, communicating together by a bridge of boats. Tarquin had recourse to

* Round Mountain † Tarquene. ‡ Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 3.

the following stratagem to separate them. He sent, in the night, various boats laden with flaming combustibles, some with the tide, and others against it, which, driven by a furious wind, arrived at the bridge and burnt it. The two separated armies, thus thrown into confusion by the Romans, were entirely defeated*.

The Etrurians made some further efforts against
 197. the Romans, particularly in the time of Servius
 Tullus, but were always obliged to make terms with him,
 198. as they had done with Tarquin, by acknowledging
 199. a supremacy, which, in fact, was never exercised
 over them.

From these details it is manifest that war, in those times, consisted merely in the devastation of the country; the art of taking fortresses was unknown; a great victory was followed by neither acquisition of city or of castle, and rarely of territory; the conquered were only humbled for a short time, in order that they might return to hostilities with increased vigour. After so many victories over the Etrurians, the Romans remained still confined within the ancient limits prescribed to them by the Tiber; and the Veientes, so often conquered, and only twelve miles distant from Rome, remained the same powerful and formidable enemy.

Meanwhile the celebrated revolution was working
 244. in Rome, by which the monarchy was abolished. The insufferable tyranny of Tarquin the Proud, the insults offered by his family to the people, the base action of Sextus towards Lucretia, and the magnanimous conduct of that illustrious woman, who, after disclosing to her husband and parents the infamous deed, had the courage to plunge the steel into her own bosom, excited the just indigna-

* Dion. Halicarn. lib. 3. Tit. Liv. lib. 1.

tion of the Romans to revolt, and eventually led to the expulsion of the tyrant. Lucius Junius, whose affected stupidity under the reign of Tarquin, when penetration and talent were crimes, had gained him the contemptuous title of Brutus, a name so celebrated afterwards, was the principal actor in this tragedy.

After the expulsion of the ruling family, Rome constituted herself into a republic. The exiled Tarquin, wandering and begging through the cities of Etruria, and carrying with him the sad spectacle of his former grandeur, easily excited the compassion of the people: sympathy for fallen majesty raised in his favour the resolution and the power of Porsenna, one of the most celebrated kings of the Etrurians, who reigned in Clusium, and probably governed the rest of Etruria. Political considerations also encouraged Porsenna to the succour of Tarquin, as the example of debased majesty might become contagious, and finally prove prejudicial to his own royal power: he resolved, therefore, upon making preparations for war, and for that purpose devised more

^{244.} extensive plans of operation. In the meantime the followers of Tarquin, impatient of delay, having persuaded two Etrurian cities to take up arms in their favour, *viz.*, the Veientes and the Tarquinienses, assembled a considerable army, and, without waiting the united forces of Etruria, marched against Rome. The Romans came out to meet them, and a sanguinary and undecided conflict took place, memorable only for the death of the Consul Brutus, and Aruns, son of Tarquin. The former, with a part of the cavalry, was at the head of his army; Aruns commanded also a vanguard of horse. Discovering each other, and fired by a mutual hatred, more intent upon striking than defence, they each fell at the first blow. The two armies immediately came in

contact ; the left wing, composed of the Vejenti, accustomed to yield to the Romans, was beaten ; but the right, formed of the Tarquinienses, successfully combated with the Romans*.

246. Porsenna, in the meanwhile, was marching against

Rome with the whole force of Etruria ; and although the Romans had long been accustomed to victory, they were, in this instance, completely overpowered. Weakened by the absence of the royalists, and disconcerted by the acts of their new government, they became dismayed ; while the Etrurians, better governed than heretofore, united by common consent, and commanded by the brave and prudent Porsenna, fought with more than their accustomed valour. The Romans were twice defeated ; and the only defence of their capital was Mount Janiculum, separated from it by the Tiber, and defended by a considerable force. Porsenna, however, invested Mount Janiculum with so much art and vigour, that, making himself master of it, the Romans retired towards the bridge Sublicius, where the Consuls, reanimating their fugitive army, conducted it against the Etrurians. Mamilius, who had joined the Etrurians with a body of Latins, commanded the right wing ; the Tarquinians, with the outlawed Romans, and their adherents, held the left ; and the centre was led on by Porsenna, with the flower of Etruria. On the side of the Romans, Spurius Lartius, and Titus Herminius, gave front to the Tarquinienses ; Marcus Valerius, and Titus Lucretius, to Mamilius ; whilst the Consuls Poplicola, and his colleague, commanded the centre. After the most obstinate proofs of valour on both sides, Valerius and Lucretius were wounded, and obliged to quit the field.

* Liv. lib. 2. Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 5.

The left wing of the Romans, panic-struck by this event, began to give way, and retreated principally towards the bridge; the example was quickly followed by the whole army, and the Romans were driven in confusion towards the bridge and the city. In this moment of danger, Horatius Cocles, Spurius Lartius, and Herminius, with a few remains of the most brave, covered the fugitives, that they might retreat with greater safety; but the enemy advancing upon them like a torrent, the three warriors posted themselves upon the bridge to meet the force of the whole army. Horatius Cocles ordered the bridge to be cut down behind him, and when half broken, obliged his two companions to retire, remaining himself alone in front of his enemies, whom he reproached in the most severe terms, accusing them of a disregard of their own liberty, in opposing that of others. A feeling of shame roused his enemies to rush furiously upon him, but the intrepid warrior remained firm, though severely wounded in the thigh, and the bridge being finally demolished, he leaped into the Tiber; and although exhausted by fatigue, and struggling against the current of the river, he arrived in safety among his comrades, who, receiving him with shouts of triumph, and bearing him on their shoulders, entwined his forehead with a crown, and afterwards erected to him a bronze statue, in the Forum. Thus Horatius saved Rome; and by re-awakening a spirit of virtue in the Romans, shewed them, at the same time, of what actions a brave man is capable*.

Porsenna having passed the Tiber with a part of his army, and surrounded Rome on every side, cut off the supplies of provisions; nevertheless they were brought

* Dion. Halicarn. lib. 5. Tit. Liv. lib. 2.

down the Tiber. The Roman Consul caused a report to be circulated that a great number of cattle, brought hastily into Rome, where pasture was deficient, would be led, under a strong escort, to graze in the meadows without the Esquiline Gate, a place the most remote from the enemy. The latter, giving credit to this delusive statement, secretly sent a strong detachment to drive away the escort, and seize the cattle; when the Romans, who had laid wait for the Etrurians, rushing out suddenly upon them, from various directions, cut to pieces more than 5,000 of their enemies.

Famine would finally have accomplished what force denied, when Mutius Scævola determined to sacrifice himself for his country by killing the king of the Etrurians. The resolute boldness with which he stepped forward to strike the blow, his mistake, and firmness in holding his hand in the flames until it was entirely consumed, are sufficiently known from historians and poets*. We cannot, however, withhold the praise which is due to the generous mind of the Etrurian king, who, instead of being enraged against the man who had thus attempted his life, admired the courage of Mutius, and his love of country, and granted him a pardon†. So many proofs of Roman heroism moved Porsenna to such a degree, that his hatred towards them was changed into admiration and terror. Mutius, moreover, having asserted that if his hand had failed, there were still 300 bold young Romans who had sworn to attempt the same blow; he considered how dangerous it was for him to

* There are those who treat this event as a fable, but if we have no faith in Livy, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, it is useless to dwell upon the Roman history in its early times. See Dissert. "Sur l'incertitude des premiers siècles de Rome, chap. 3.

† Tit. Liv. 2. Dion. Halicarn. lib. 5.

engage such enemies, and resolved to negotiate a peace with them. After frequent vain endeavours to reconcile them to Tarquin, he abandoned to his fate his unfortunate friend, and made terms with the Romans. It is true that he dictated the conditions of peace like a conqueror, but shewed, nevertheless, a generous mind; for having obtained, as hostages, the sons of the most respectable personages of Rome, he restored them to liberty in the moment of departure; saying that he confided more in the honour of the Romans, than in any other pledge; and with a royal munificence, left to his enemies, afflicted by famine, the copious magazines of provisions, which he possessed on Mount Janiculum.

Upon the return of Porsenna to Clusium, the Romans sent him a solemn embassy, with a throne of ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal garment*.

We have seen that when the conquered Tuscans sent these ensigns of triumph to the kings of Rome, they were always accompanied by the homage due from dependance; we may, therefore, infer that in this war, if we except the principal moment of the exile of Tarquin, that which most concerned the Romans, the latter acted the part of the conquered, and Porsenna that of a conqueror, which acquires still further confirmation, if the oppressive terms spoken of by Pliny are true, *viz.*, that the Romans were only to make use of iron in agriculture†.

In the meantime a part of the army of Porsenna, under the command of his son Aruns, was advancing against the Aricini and Cumani, commanded by Aristodemus; but Aruns having been slain, the Etrurians took to flight, and arrived exhausted, and covered with

* Dion. Halicarn. lib. 5. † Plin. lib. 34, cap. 14.

wounds, in the neighbourhood of Rome, where they were charitably received, taken into the city upon cars, and supplied with every necessary assistance. A part of them were thus induced to change their country, and establish themselves in Rome, where they gave name to a street*.

It would appear that the system of a prudent king, like Porsenna, was to remain in peace with the Romans, a peace that might at least continue during his life; for we do not find that the Etrurians had, for a long time, taken any part against Rome. The other neighbouring populations, however, the Sabines, the Æqui and Volsci, kept them continually in the exercise of that discipline which was to prove fatal to them all. More than once these people were beaten, and stained the Latin fields with horrid slaughter. The discords between the Roman Senate and people were, however, more favourable to their enemies than arms; frequently they interrupted the Roman triumphs, and gave opportunity to their rivals to gain time, and return to the attack with renewed vigour. It is true that the turbulent agitations of Rome were very different from those of other republics, which so often have been stained with the blood of their most zealous citizens. For many years, and as long as the love of country held them sufficiently together, as long as all tended towards the same end, although discord found its way into Rome, the Senate and the people respected each other so far that in all their tumults, not the sword and the lance, but reason and laws were the arms with which they fought; and every quarrel between a people so sanguinary and ferocious in the field, terminated only in a blow from a stick or the fist. The

* Dion. Halicarn. lib. 8.

people in the delirium of their anger, rather than proceed to acts of violence against the Senate, separated themselves from it by retiring from Rome to the Sacred Mountain, always holding in respect that assembly; and the prudence of Menenius is well known, who, by the fable of the belly and the members, was able to appease and bring back the people to Rome. Finally, civil disputes among them were, for the most part, terminated by law, whilst in other nations they finished only with blood; whereby a virtuous emulation was excited between the two ranks, enabling them to meet their common enemies with greater ardour. Dissensions rarely spread from the forum to the military camp; and the people, finding that the most common expedient of the Senate to appease their tumults, and elude their demands, was to lead them to battle, at times refused

270. to march, at others suffered themselves to be beaten in the field, or at least would not conquer, that the Consul who commanded them might draw no honour from a triumph: this particularly occurred in their battles against the Volsci and Veientes, under the Consuls Quintus Fabius, and Lucius Valerius*. Then it was that the Etrurians, after many years of peace, thought the season opportune to oppress Rome. In a large assembly of the whole nation it was decided that the Veientes should be sustained with the greatest vigour, which, as the nearest city to the Romans, and the most powerful, had begun again to disturb them; they were certain also of the co-operation of the Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsci, determined enemies to Rome. The campaign was opened in the neighbourhood of Veii, where, by degrees, the Etrurian forces were

* Dion. Halicarn. lib. 8. Tit. Liv. lib. 2.

ordered to assemble; they were opposed by the Consul Fabius, hated by the people, whilst the other Consul of the popular faction marched against the Æqui, who, however, gave no opportunity of battle. Not so with Fabius. The fight began, the Romans were already victorious, and the enemy in confusion, when the cavalry advanced to complete the victory: the cavalry being considered partizans of the nobility, the infantry suffered them to be surrounded by the enemy; nor could the commands or entreaties of Fabius prevail to make them march to their assistance: they were, therefore, very ill-treated, and the victory remained imperfect. The seditious soldiers, not content with thus failing in their duty, threw the whole blame of this misfortune upon the cavalry and their commander, abandoned the camp in the night, and retiring precipitately to Rome, scattered throughout the city desolation and dismay. Fabius thought proper to make a precipitate retreat; and as the Veientes were not aware of the desertion of so

273. large a body of his troops, they contented themselves with plundering the abandoned camp. This event being made known, flattered the Etrurians still more with the hope of oppressing Rome. Numerous bodies of brave troops from every part of Etruria, assembled at Veii, nor were auxiliaries wanting from the opposite shore of the Tiber. This imminent danger roused the Romans; and although the pontifical tribune, by renewing the pretensions of the people, endeavoured to disturb the enlistment, the wisdom of the senate, and the fear of the approaching enemy, made the Roman army numerous, though inferior to that of Etruria. Marcus Fabius had been made Consul, the brother of the ill-received Fabius of the preceding year, but his prudence and valour caused the senate to decide

in his favour, and the people gave him for his colleague Cneius Manlius, surnamed Cincinnatus. Rarely have generals found themselves in more dangerous circumstances, obliged to fight against an enemy so superior in number, and uncertain even of the good disposition of their own troops.

The fatal example of the preceding year obliged the consuls to adopt extraordinary precaution: the two armies were led forward, and approaching Veii, took up a very advantageous position, entrenching themselves with all possible care; and, what was unusual with the Romans, resolved to stand upon the defensive. The Etrurians appeared to triumph over their weakness, and encircling the Roman entrenchments with their cavalry, insulted them with opprobrious language, unconscious of thereby seconding the wish of the consuls to awaken the slumbering courage of the Romans. These insults were multiplied to such a degree, that the soldiers finally demanded battle, to which the consuls feigned a repugnance, in order to increase the ardour of the soldiery, until at last their demands were converted into seditious clamour. Fabius, who wished to make good use of the moment, commanded silence, and addressing the soldiers in an eloquent and designing discourse, in which, passing over the unlucky events of the preceding year, and telling the Romans that when they wished to be so they were always invincible, he feigned to yield to their wishes*, finishing his oration with these memorable words—"that death flies from the brave, and follows only fugitives and cowards."

The speech of Fabius was received with the greatest applause, when Flavoleius, who had been raised on

* *Vide* Dionys. Halicarn. Ant. Rom. lib. 9.

account of his valour from the lowest rank to that of a superior officer, mounting upon an eminence, called upon the soldiers to swear not to return to Rome, unless victorious ; the oath was taken by all with joyful shouts, when, full of ardour, they marched to battle. The diligence of Roman historians has furnished us with the details here given, whilst we are obliged to seek for proofs of the valour of the Etrurians among the documents of their own enemies ; yet certain it is, that however surprised by a change of scene, and the renewed ardour of the Romans, they met them with no less courage and intrepidity. The consul Manlius commanded the right wing, Quintus Fabius, brother of the consul, the left, and the consul Fabius the centre. If we are to believe the Roman historians, the Etrurians erred in taking up a position on ground too narrow for their ranks to extend themselves in ; scarcely had they room for the necessary motion of their arms to launch their arrows, by which means those of the Romans never failed in their mark. The Etrurian wing opposed to Quintus, by extending its columns, at one period had nearly surrounded the Romans, when the commander, borne by some of his chosen brave in the midst of his enemies, was struck by an arrow in the breast ; drawing it out, he fell from his horse ; the consul hastened to his succour, accompanied by his other brother Cæsone, and by a troop of brave soldiers, when, reminding the fugitives of their oath, they took fresh courage at the sound of his voice, and regained the lost ground. They then hastened to find Quintus, whom they discovered still alive under a heap of bodies, but arrived only in time to see him expire. The Etrurians, thus driven back on this side, were also discomfited in the centre. The right wing of the Romans began to give way, the consul

Manlius received a wound in the knee, obliging him to quit the field, and the soldiers were already in flight, when the Fabians, again hastening to their succour, repulsed the enemy. A body of the Veientes were in the meantime dislodging the Romans in the spot where the wounded Manlius had been carried, who, forgetful of his pain, had the courage to remount his horse and animate his defenders. Besides the servants and other followers, a chosen band of veterans was kept in reserve; the attack became furious, the consul fell, covered with new wounds, the entrenchments were taken; and the desire of plunder alone, which threw the Etrurian ranks into disorder, saved the remains of the Roman guard. The Consul Fabius, apprized of this new misfortune, hastened to attack the enemy in his entrenchments, but the Etrurians defended themselves vigorously, from the advantage of ground. Siccus, a Roman officer, well acquainted with the weakest side, directed the assault, and, in order not to rouse the valour of the Etrurians to desperation, left the passes free; when Fabius, who had left the battle undecided, returned to his army and completed the victory. The Etrurians were not molested in their retreat. The attack had begun at mid-day, and night alone put an end to a most sanguinary combat, in which both sides were, at various times, the conquered and the conquerors. The following day the Etrurians retreated, and thus left no doubt of a victory, which was universally ascribed to Fabius.

The Roman historians, as we have seen, have not omitted to mention every deed of valour performed by their republicans, whilst they pass over in silence those of the Etrurians, of whom we have no account either of their generals or officers.

A triumphal entry was preparing in Rome for Fabius,

but as he thought it improper to exhibit himself in pomp for so bloody a victory, the people saw him enter dressed in mourning, with the bodies of his brother Quintus and Manlius ; a refusal of triumph, (adds the historian,) more glorious than the triumph itself*.

That this victory of the Romans was more one of name than of fact, may be inferred from the hostilities which were almost immediately recommenced by the Veientes ; and the Æqui also offering fresh insults to the Romans, the new Consuls, Fabius, Cæsius, and Virginius, took the field ; the former against the
 274. Veientes, the latter against the Æqui. Virginius was surrounded, and retired to a hill, where the Etrurians besieged him ; and had not the Consul Fabius hastily marched to his succour, he would have been obliged, from want of provisions, to lay down his arms, and surrender himself prisoner†.

The Etrurians, with the Veientes, still continuing to insult the neighbourhood of Rome, means were devised of opposing a barrier to their incursions, by establishing and garrisoning forts in the country. The family of Fabius, consisting of 300 individuals, implored the senate to confide to them the protection of their country ; the generous offer was accepted, and they were joined by about 4,000 of their friends and dependants, at the head of whom was Marcus Fabius, the same who, with so much glory, had fought against the Etrurians : guided by him, this small and intrepid band left Rome amidst shouts of admiration and applause from their fellow-citizens ; and fixing their head-quarters in a castle near

* “Omni acto triumpho, depositus triumphus clarior fuit.” Liv. lib. 2. For all the above events, see this historian, and Dion. Halicarn. lib. 9.

† Liv. lib. 2, Dion. Halicarn. lib. 9.

the river Cremera*, built various forts and towers at proper distances, whence they established a judicious line of defence, making frequent sorties against the Veientes, who ventured to depredate the country, and returning always victorious. In the meantime the Romans were attacked on three sides by the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Veientes; the latter were soon defeated by the Consul Æmilius, and obliged to sue for peace, which was scarcely obtained, when the rest of Etruria, irritated against Veii, obliged them to break it. The incursions of the Fabians served them as a pretext, whom they demanded to abandon their dangerous position, which was immediately refused, and the Fabians continued harassing the Veientes with hostilities. The latter, exasperated and ashamed of being curbed by a handful of men, had recourse to stratagem to accomplish what open arms denied them. The Fabians, rendered less

276. circumspect by repeated victories, made a sortie, for the purpose of seizing the cattle which were sent to graze along the river by the Veientes, who, laying wait for them in great numbers, sallied out suddenly against them. The valour with which they resisted the attack, was equal to the celebrated resistance of the Spartans at Thermopylæ, or any other similar enterprise. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who varies somewhat in his narration from Livy, tells us that a part only of the Fabians (as is probable) sallied from the castle to make prey of the cattle, when, suddenly overtaken by the Etrurians, they resisted bravely; that finally the

* The river Cremera is now called the Valca or Varca; coming out of the lake of Baccano, it throws itself into the Tiber, five miles from Rome.—*Mur. Ital. Ant.*

centre of their little body being broken, they retired, fighting, to a hill, whence they several times drove back the enemy, who surrounded them on all sides. The latter, however, formed round the little troop a kind of blockade, in which the Fabians were kept without food during the whole of the following night. Their companions, at the dawn of day, hearing of their misfortune, and well knowing that from hunger they would be obliged to surrender, hastened to accomplish their rescue, or to die in their defence, leaving but few in charge of the castle: this little body was immediately surrounded by the enemy, and, after an obstinate contest, cut to pieces.

The remnant of the Fabians surrounded on every side upon the hill, exhausted by fatigue and famine, continued to hold out until the evening, by raising heaps of bodies around them, with such valour and obstinacy that the enemy dared not approach; who, after losing a third part of his army, and remaining some time in suspense, sent heralds to offer them a secure retreat, if they would lay down their arms, and abandon the fortress; conditions which their noble minds immediately rejected. The Etrurians, however, did not dare to approach, but holding them constantly besieged, threw upon them stones, arrows, and other missiles, from a distance. The Fabians, although nearly all wounded and disarmed, their weapons being either broken or blunted, made a desperate descent from the hill, when, rushing upon the enemy like wild beasts, and tearing from them their arms, they maintained the unequal contest until all remained dead upon the field. The remaining little body that were left in charge of the fortress defended itself with equal valour, till, straitened by

famine, they made the same courageous sortie, and fell with the same desperate spirit*.

The Roman historians and poets have contended with each other in celebrating this memorable enterprise, and a glorious commemoration of it was made annually in Rome by a solemn festival†. The new Consul Menenius, by hastening his march, might, probably, have arrived in time to liberate the Fabians, had not his enmity to that family made him reluctant to undertake the enterprise. Elated with victory, the Etrurians now marched against the Consul; and if we credit the Roman historians, the latter took up a very disadvantageous position, from whence he was driven, and obliged to take shelter in his cantonments, where, attacked by the conqueror, he was again dislodged with little resistance. The Romans experienced a shameful defeat, and the fugitives owed their lives only to the avidity of the conquerors, who halted to plunder the cantonments; they nevertheless followed up their victory, and approached Rome, where, meeting with little resistance, they took possession of Mount Janiculum‡. Rome, thus blockaded by the enemy, was in the greatest dismay; the Consul, who was fighting against the Volsci, was hastily recalled; and, upon his arrival, two battles took place, the first undecided, the second near the gate Collina; after which the Etrurians were obliged to retire. This victory of the Romans, however, does not appear to have been of great importance, as the Etrurians were still encamped upon Mount Janiculum, where they invested the city, and distressed it for provisions. Besides the numerous population to be maintained, numbers from the country

* Tit. Liv. lib. 2. Dion. Halicarn. lib. 7.

† Ovid. Fast. lib. 11. ‡ Tit. Liv. lib. 2. Dion. Halicarn. lib. 9.

had flocked to the capital, which disaster increasing, the Consuls finally deemed it expedient to lead the famished soldiers against the enemy. The conflict was long and obstinate, both sides being alternately the conquerors, until the Romans were finally victorious, the Etrurians quietly retreating in the night towards Veium. The number of killed and wounded was so great, even on the part of the Romans, that the Consuls Virginius and Servilius refused the honours of a triumph*.

278. These reciprocal losses kept the two nations for some time quiet, till the Etrurians, making a new league with the Sabines, prepared again to besiege Rome, whose armies had been separated, and not yet well assembled upon the territory of Veii, when the Consul Valerius, with surprising celerity, overtook the Sabines, and defeated them. He immediately advanced against the Etrurians, whom he compelled to take refuge in Veii, and in the neighbouring mountains. So many repeated losses obliged the Veientes to sue for peace, and by defraying the expenses of the war, they obtained a truce for forty years. During nearly the whole of this period the Etrurian cities took no part in the wars which the Romans continually carried on against the Sabines, the Æqui, and the Volsc. The former were kept in continual exercise of this dreadful discipline, whilst idleness and luxury were rendering the Etrurians effeminate. After so long a peace, the rebellion of Fidene, a colony of the Romans, put arms once more in the hands of the Etrurians. Four ambassadors had been sent to Fidene to recall it to allegiance. Tolumnus, king of the Tuscans, was also there at the same time, and by his order, either direct or equivocal, the

* Liv. & Dion. loc. cit.

ambassadors were massacred*. It is easy to conceive the indignation which fired the Romans at this affront, and their eagerness to avenge it. The Falisci and the Veientes, commanded by Tolumnus, had joined the Fidenates. The Romans, after a small advantage, not gained without blood, created Mamercus Æmilius dictator, who went out against the enemy, then posted near the walls of Fidene: here a furious conflict took place, in the midst of which Cornelius Cossus, the tribune of the soldiers, a youth not less admirable for the beauty of his person than his strength of mind, seeing Tolumnus covered with his royal ornaments, and fighting valiantly against the Romans, darted violently upon him, contemptuously reproaching him as a violator of the sacred rights and laws of nations; and crying aloud that he was about to offer his victim to the shades of the betrayed legates, with the first stroke of his lance he threw him from his horse, and slew him. Cossus cut off the head of Tolumnus, fixed it upon a spear, and throwing the Etrurians into consternation by the spectacle, thus completed the victory†.

Upon the return of the victorious army to Rome, Cossus consecrated in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius the spoils of Tolumnus, called the magnificent, (*opima*), which were the second consecrated after those by Romulus‡.

* It is related that the Fidenates were consulting him at the moment he was playing with dice, and that, intent upon the game, he made use of the word *occide*, a technical term allusive to the play, which was interpreted as an order to slay (*occidere*) the ambassadors.—Tit. Liv. lib. 4. Valer. Max. lib. 9, cap. 9.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 4. Val. Max. lib. 3, cap. 2.

‡ Romulus having slain and despoiled with his own hand the leader of the Caeninenses, instituted this rite, in order to give greater lustre to the nation. Tit. Liv. lib. 1.

319. Fidene, after another slight action, being surrounded, the Romans made themselves masters of it by the following stratagem, which, though common in those days, excites our astonishment. A subterraneous mine was conducted under the city, in a part where the citizens least expected an attack: the assault being made on the opposite side, all ran to its defence, whilst the enemy suddenly coming through the mine, filled the city, and Fidene received its deserved chastisement. Such events dismayed the Veientes and Falisci, and induced the whole of the Etrurian cities to unite against the Romans. The Fidenates obeyed this yoke very unwillingly, and at last persuaded the Veientes to rise in their
326. favour, by breaking a truce of eight years obtained from the Romans.

Although the Etrurian diet would not consent to take up arms unitedly against the Romans, it encouraged private individuals to aid the Veientes, and the hope of plunder greatly swelled their army. The Romans, on account of civil cavils between the people and the senate, in lieu of two consuls, had elected four military tribunes, who were, indeed, the most celebrated of their warriors; but as military command must attach to one alone, the multiplicity of commanders produced a contradiction of orders and confusion, by which the Romans were ultimately defeated*. The Fidenates, taking courage at
327. this victory, rose and barbarously slaughtered all the Romans found in their city, joined the enemies of Rome, and passing the Tiber, encamped not far from Fidene. Rome was now in the greatest confusion and dismay, when Mamercus Æmilius attacked the Veientes with success. The puerile stratagem of the Fidenates

* Tit. Liv. lib. 4.

availed them little ; in the heat of the contest they came out of the city dressed as furies, waving lighted torches. The Veientes being overpowered by the Romans, few escaped either death or slavery ; and the Fidenates flying towards the city, were pursued by the Romans, who entered pell-mell with the fugitives, and Fidene was retaken and sacked*. The humbled Veientes sued for peace, and a truce was granted them for twenty years, but which the conquered enemies of the Romans continued to observe as long only as defeat was fresh in their memory ; when fear afterwards vanished by degrees, and their wonted audacity returned. This truce

^{347.} was not yet terminated, when the Veientes, again molesting and pillaging the neighbourhood of Rome, the latter demanded satisfaction ; the former, afflicted by domestic dissension, at first modestly sued for pardon ; but the demands being renewed the following year, they assumed an insolent tone, threatening the Roman ambassadors with the fate of those of Fidene. The fierce minds of the Romans needed only this pretext to induce them not only to declare war, but to resolve upon the destruction of the city†.

Fidene, as has been already mentioned, was situated upon a strong rock, and renowned for the valour of its inhabitants, not inferior in number to the Romans. Dionysius of Halicarnassus compares its magnitude to Athens. As the wars hitherto carried on against this people, resembled rather inroads than military operations, the Romans now resolved upon besieging Veii in form, by surrounding it on every side, and, what was hitherto unusual in Roman warfare, to take up their winter quarters before the city. This resolution met,

* Tit Liv. lib. 4. Flor. cap. 12 & 13.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 1.

indeed, with opposition, but was finally adopted*. The latter, however, prepared for their defence with all
 350. possible zeal; and that all hearts might be more united by submitting to implicit obedience, they elected a king, whose name is unknown, which giving displeasure to the other cities of Etruria, they resolved to afford the Veientes no kind of succour†.

The siege which had begun under the command of the military Tribunes, armed with consular power, was attended almost immediately with misfortune to the Veientes: making a sudden sortie in the night, they burnt the machines, and destroyed the works. The insult thus offered to the Roman power, instead of lessening, inflamed still more the courage of its youth, who crowded in numbers to avenge it: the works were re-established, the siege carried on with greater vigour, and, notwithstanding the general council of the Etrurians had resolved to give no succour to the Veientes, the Falisci and the Capenates‡, foreseeing their own ruin in that of Veii, having assembled a numerous body of troops, suddenly attacked a

part of the Roman army, commanded by the tri-
 351. bune Sergius; and a sortie being made at the same time by the Veientes, that wing of the Romans was defeated, and fled to the camp of the tribune Virginius, who, from an ill understanding, had not marched to its succour. The two tribunes were condemned to a pecuniary penalty§; but the Romans having soon repaired this misfortune, followed up the siege of Veii.

We cannot sufficiently express our astonishment at the
 352. supine indolence of all the Etrurian cities, (with the exception of the Falisci and Capenates,) in thus

* Plut. vita Camilli. † Tit. Liv. lib. 4.

‡ People inhabiting the country between Fiano and Civitella.

§ Tit. Liv. lib. 5.

abandoning to its fate the strongest bulwark of Etruria, which, once conquered, rendered it easy for the Romans to penetrate into the heart of the province. Probably their attention was distracted by some war not well known, or by threats of an invasion from the Gauls, who

353. had long since passed the Alps, and occupied the plains of Lombardy. Other battles in the meantime had taken place round the besieged city, where the Capenates and Falisci, endeavouring to demolish
354. the works, were repulsed with great slaughter.

356. A phenomenon occurred about this time, which may give exercise to the conjectures of the admirers of natural philosophy, and which seriously occupied the warriors and legislators of Rome and Veii, as thereon depended the issue of the war. The lake Albano had risen to a very extraordinary height without rain, or any apparent cause; the season was extremely dry, yet the waters overflowed the basin, and made their way towards the sea. An old Etrurian prophesied that the Romans would never conquer Veii, unless they turned those waters, not towards the sea, but over the surrounding country. The senate of Rome, either to confirm or discredit this prophecy, sent to consult the oracle of Delphi: the priests made Apollo confirm the presage of the old Etrurian, and the god added (which he rarely omitted) that the Romans, upon the conquest of Veii, were to send a rich present to his temple. This event is interesting both to the naturalist and politician; and in order to comprehend the enormous quantity of water necessary to produce this effect, we must be acquainted with its extent. The lake Albano, now called Castello*, is situated near the cele-

* It has this name from Castel Gandolfo, built by Gandolfo Savelli, now a villa of the Pope.

brated mount Albano; its form is almost oval, extending about eight miles of circumference, and the unequal margin of its crater is formed by rocks and hills, of various heights; the greatest ascends to 480 feet above the superficies of the lake, the smallest to 292*. Like its neighbour Nemi, and many other lakes, it has been the crater of a vulcano, the marks of which are still clearly visible†. It would appear to arise from considerable subterraneous springs, as Kirker conjectured, by seeing the lead carried constantly towards the side with which he was sounding the depth; and there is, perhaps, still a secret communication with the neighbouring lake of Nemi. In order to account for so large a body of water collecting itself as to exceed the height we have described, it is necessary to suppose the passages to have been at that time obstructed, by which the waters were usually discharged‡. The devout Romans, in obedience to the oracle, constructed a large canal, still visible, and which does not appear the work of Rome while her dominion extended only over a few miles of territory, but of that Rome which gave laws to the world§. The canal leads at present to the Silvan waters, and thence towards the Tiber||, whilst other natural passages, pro-

* Kirker near the Volpi Latium Vetus.

† Lapi. lez. accad., sull'origine de due laghi.

‡ Examples of such phenomena are not wanting. In the islands of Chersus and Aserus, situated between Istria and Dalmatia, (celebrated for the petrified human bones frequently found there,) there is a lake, which, without any manifest cause, often swells, comes out of its bed, and again returns.

§ The description may be seen in the work Vulpii Latium Vetus. This stupendous canal, excavated from the bowels of the mountain, runs underground about 1,500 feet, and in some part is formed by large quadrate stones.

|| Vulp. Lat. Vet.

bably more ancient than the artificial one, form the waters *Crabre* and *Ferentine*. This command of the Tuscan augur and the oracle, was, probably dictated by the legislators of Rome themselves, who, occupied either in war or in agriculture, knew well of what utility it would be to irrigate the country between the lake and the Tiber; and in order to obtain a more easy obedience, made the oracle command it*. The Romans obeyed, but did not omit to reinforce their troops. In the civil contests, military tribunes had been elected instead of consuls, and sometimes taken from the plebeian order. The Etrurian diet, newly assembled, refused to declare solemn war against Rome, while they secretly encouraged various cities to succour Veii. In the meantime a

357. voluntary body of Etrurians marched against the Romans. The rashness of the two military tribunes carried them incautiously into an ambush, where their troops sustained a furious attack. Genucius, one of the tribunes, was killed, and Atinius saved himself upon an eminence, with the remains of his army. The news of this disaster spread consternation in Rome: recourse was had to the election of a dictator, and the choice fell upon Camillus, who created Cornelius Scipio his lieutenant. The troops were now inspired with fresh courage, and after completely defeating the Falisci and the Capenates, allies of the Veientes, the city was besieged with the greatest vigour. The Romans, however, despairing of taking it by open assault, constructed a subterraneous mine, by which they were to be conducted into the fortress of Veii. The work was one of ar-

* Cicero, speaking of this event, confirms our conjecture. "Ita aqua Albana deducta ad utilitatem agri suburbanum non ad arcem urbemque retinendam.—(Cic. de Divinat.)"

duous execution * ; but in the remains of ancient edifices we have luminous examples of what rude art is capable, when directed by natural sense and perseverance, and animated by enthusiasm, without the aid of modern refinement ; a recent instance of which is observable in the stupendous emissary of the lake Albano. The mine was carried on with the greatest celerity day and night, the miners being changed every six hours ; and when finished, Camillus deemed the victory so certain that he required instructions from Rome, as to the disposal of the booty. Upon a signal given, the Roman soldiers, who had been for many days in repose, rushed suddenly from every side to the assault of the city, and whilst the Veientes were assembled upon the walls to defend themselves from so furious an attack, the band of chosen and resolute warriors, who had penetrated under the city by the subterraneous road, sallied out in an instant into the fortress ; whence rushing upon the astonished Veientes, before they had time to recover from their consternation, they opened the gates, admitted their companions, and thus finished, after ten years of continued war, the conquest of a city which had so long resisted Rome, and rivalled her power.

The slaughter ceased with the first onset : the free citizens were conducted to Rome and sold as slaves, the city remaining a desert, the greatest part of the buildings having been destroyed. The superstitious soldiers, after loading themselves with the profane spoils, thought also of enriching their country with the sacred and miraculous images of Veii, and particularly the idol Juno ; but as

* Tit. Liv., lib. 5, " Operum fuit omnium longe maximum ac laborisissimum ; cuniculus in arcem hostium agi ceptus."

they considered it a kind of sacrilegious impropriety to make the goddess change her country, the consent of the image to be removed to Rome, was asked by a sacred deputation; when either the pious credulity or superstitious imagination of the bystanders saw the goddess, by a nod of her head, and heard her by voice, consent to the request*.

A war with the Falisci succeeded that of Veii, which, like the latter, was long and obstinate. Camillus, the military tribune who commanded the Romans, had often discomfited his enemies, and was now blockading the city. A schoolmaster, who was leading a number of boys belonging to the first families of the Falisci to take the air, thought of making his fortune by treachery; conducting the innocent youth amongst the enemy, he presented them as prisoners to Camillus, telling him that in so doing he consigned to him the city Faleria, as he gave up the sons of her first citizens. The virtuous Camillus answered, that the Romans did not hope to conquer by treachery, but by force of arms, against armed enemies; and, laying the shoulders of the preceptor bare, with his arms tied behind him, immediately consigned him to the boys, who, after whipping him with rods, took him back to Faleria. This extraordinary spectacle moved the Falisci, who, rather conquered by Roman generosity than by arms, sent a deputation to Rome, determined to place themselves, by their own choice, under so virtuous an enemy†.

The incursions of the Vulsinii upon the Roman territory produced another trifling war, in which that people felt the vengeance of Rome; and still greater

* Tit. Liv. lib. 5. Plutar. vita Camilli.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 5.

misfortunes, probably awaited them, had not the contest been interrupted by more important events.

361. An enemy far more powerful was now threatening Etruria and Rome. The Gauls, who had long since abandoned their country, occupied the plains of Lombardy, and formed Cisalpine Gaul. It is said that these barbarians were attracted by the softness and fertility of the Italian climate, and particularly by the wines it produced*. Impatience of rest, and avidity of plunder, attracted this people to Etruria. Chiusi, a principal city, was surrounded by a numerous body of these barbarians, and applied to the Romans for aid, who, divided at this time by civil discords, had exiled the only man capable of saving Rome, Furius Camillus, the conqueror of the Veientes. In this dangerous conjuncture they evinced an equal weakness in council and in arms; instead of vigorously succouring the Etrurians, they sent an embassy to dispute with the Gauls upon public right, and to demand an explanation of their conduct. The answer they received is sufficiently memorable. Brennus, laughing at their demand, told them that he occupied the territory by the same right as that by which the Romans had invaded the lands of their neighbours, that is, the right of arms, which alone belonged to the strongest. This answer will be thought worthy only of a barbarian, but it is at least candid and sincere, and founded upon the principle which has regulated the actions of nations, in spite of those metaphysical romances called treaties upon public right, which have

* Gaul, covered by woods, had a climate far more rigid than at present, whence the grape would not ripen. Even in the times of Cæsar the climate was so cold, that rein-deer were found there, animals that can only live among the cold and snows of Lapland. (See Buffon's history of this animal.)

never served either to prevent war, or to make peace ; and which, even in our polished age, enable the violators of the rights of others to dissemble with more effect, or give answers less candid than that of Brennus, by covering the truth with ingenious sophistry, and studying to give a colour of justice to the most evident violations by ingenious manifestos*.

The conference having been broken off, a skirmish took place between the Etrurians and Gauls, in which Fabius killed one of their principal leaders with his own hand. The Gauls, exasperated by this manifest violation of faith, abandoned Chiusi, and hastened to Rome. The vicissitudes of this war are related by Roman historians : it appears that fortune, desirous of punishing the ingratitude of the Romans towards Camillus, deprived them of their wonted judgment and courage. The confusion in which they marched to give battle to the Gauls, and the disorder of their ranks when they met them at the river Allia, occasioned one of the most terrible and memorable defeats in the Roman history. A dreadful panic struck the rest of the army, which, instead of retiring to the defence of Rome, dispersed itself through the country, a great part retiring to the abandoned city of Veii, and leaving Rome in the power of the enemy. The barbarians themselves were astonished at the facility of their conquest, finding the city almost without inhabitants, and the remainder having fortified themselves in the capitol. Finally, the glory of freeing his ungrateful country, and saving her from the disgrace of redeeming herself at the price of gold, was reserved for Camillus, who, arriving at the moment when the price of Rome was weighing in the

* Tit. Liv. lib. 5. Plut. Life of Camillus.

balance, broke the shameful contract, challenged the Gauls to battle in the centre of Rome, where they were beaten and put to flight with the same facility as the Romans had been at the river Allia. Joining afterwards again at a distance of eight miles from Rome, on the Via Gabinia, they made a valorous resistance, but were finally cut to pieces, not one having been left to carry back to Lombardy the news of their defeat.

In this war, as on many other occasions, we perceive the public welfare, and the safety of a kingdom, depending often upon a single individual*. This victory of the Romans thus liberated Etruria from every danger. The abandoned city of Veii was upon the point of rising immortal, and the glories of Latium to be transferred to Etruria: Rome no longer existed; the fire and sword of the Gauls had destroyed all but the capitol, and it was long debated whether the situation of the city should be changed, and the Roman population carried to Veii. Camillus opposed it, and thus reserved to Latium the honour of future triumphs.

It would appear, however, that this victory gave only fresh vigour to the Romans, whilst it filled the Tuscans with jealousy and apprehensions; for shortly after we find almost the whole of Etruria in arms against Rome. Sutrium, a city in alliance with the Romans, was attacked by the Etrurians; and the former being unable to hasten to its succour, the city surrendered, and the inhabitants were permitted to evacuate it with only one garment upon them. The miserable exiles met with the Roman army commanded by Camillus, who was hastening to its relief; and being counselled not to despond, the Roman general advanced quietly to Sutrium, where the insolent

* Tit. Liv. lib. 5. Plut. Life of Camillus.

Victors, not expecting such an assault, had left the gates open, and without a guard. Thus surprised by a sudden attack, they were easily overpowered ; a pardon was granted to those who laid down their arms, and the city, thus lost and regained in one day, was restored to its inhabitants.

395. Perceiving how little interest can be excited by a continued detail of deeds of slaughter, which, resembling each other so much, are not diversified by any of those civil and instructive events which place before the reader the genius and the customs of a nation, with the revolutions of its internal government; and omitting, therefore, many of the warlike enterprises sufficiently narrated in the Roman annals, we hasten to those more decisive events, which finally ruined and subjugated Etruria to the Roman power.

After an alternate series of truces, violations, and many trivial occurrences, hostilities recommenced, in which the Tarquinii gained some advantage over the Romans, but dishonoured the victory by their cruelty in putting to death more than 300 prisoners. The Romans, distracted by other wars, could not immediately avenge themselves.

Some time afterwards, Fabius Ambustus marched against them, now united with the Falisci.

397. These people made use of a vain stratagem or superstitious rite, already practised by the Fidenates: they placed at the head of their army a body of priests, dressed as furies, holding artificial serpents in one hand, and lighted torches in the other. This sudden and extraordinary spectacle struck the Romans with a momentary terror; the soldiers had already given way, when, encouraged by the Consul Fabius, they dissipated

the spectres and dispersed the enemy*. This was only the prelude to a far more sanguinary action, which took place along the Tiber with a very numerous host of Etrurians, who were defeated with the loss of 7,000 men. Two years afterwards a body of Romans, commanded by Quintius Penna, attacked the Tarquinii; the battle was bloody and indecisive, but the enraged Romans, determined to avenge cruelties practised by their enemies, caused many of their prisoners to pass under the rod and axe of their lictors. Such horrid examples show the necessity of mutual respect in war, and the observance of those laws which command slaughter to cease with the battle†. Incursion followed incursion on the part of the Tarquinii, Falisci, &c., but always proving unsuccessful; they were at length obliged to sue for peace, and obtained a truce of forty years. The remainder of Etruria, exhausted by so many defeats, remained in a state of tranquillity, approaching almost to supine indolence; whilst the ferocious nation which was threatening them with chains, became every day more formidable in the continual exercise of war against powerful tribes. During the various wars in which the Gauls advanced even to Rome, the Etrurians remained totally inactive. The Volscians, the Samnites, and other tribes of the country called Magna-Grecia, were almost constantly disputing with the Romans, who finally triumphed; but had her enemies more judiciously combined in their operations, we may predict that this rising colossus would have been overpowered. Jealousies, however, and private interests, continued to divide these nations, who, one after the other, fell under the Roman yoke. Etruria, after remaining nearly forty years with-

402.

* Tit. Liv. lib. 7. Flor. lib. 1, cap. 8. † Liv. lib. 7.

out molesting the Romans, leaving them to subjugate the tribes beyond the Tiber, began again to arm herself, and to threaten those conquerors without even assigning a

cause : the preparations were formidable ; whence
 441. the Romans, full of apprehension of a dangerous war, named Servilius Longus Dictator ; the storm, however, dispersed of itself, and the Etrurians did not march*. In the following year all the tribes of Etruria, with the exception of the Aretines, turned anew against Rome, and commenced the attack of Sutrium, a colony of the Romans, which was considered as the gate of Etru-

ria ; the Romans, commanded by the Consul
 442. Aemilius, hastened to its succour. The Etrurians, deliberating among themselves whether it was better to temporize and stand on the defensive, or hazard a decisive battle ; the latter prevailed, and rarely has a battle been fought with so much obstinacy† ; it appears to have remained undecided, and suspended only by the night. The most brave on both sides had fallen, and the remains of both armies, retiring to their cantonments, found themselves so much weakened as to be unable to renew the battle, and a tacit truce was the consequence. The valour, evinced by the Etrurians in this conflict, sufficiently proves that long repose had not weakened their military courage, although it has been stated that the Consul received the honours of a triumph. The following year the Etrurians returned to the attack of Sutri with a fresh army, when the Romans, headed by the Consul Fabius, came out to meet them ; they fought with the most determined obstinacy, until the Etrurians

* Tit. Liv. lib. 9. Fas. Capit.

† Liv. lib. 9. " Nullo unquam prælia fugæ minus, aut plus cædis."

suffered an immense slaughter, and the loss of their camp; the remains of their army taking refuge in the wood and Mount Ciminus*. The sacred horror of this wood induced the Romans to consider it a profanation to enter it: the less superstitious feared to venture into an unknown country, still keeping alive in their memory the fatal adventure of the "*Forche Candine*," where the Roman army, surrounded by the Samnites, were obliged to yield to a disgraceful yoke. When we consider that the wood Ciminus, or Viterbo, struck such terror into so brave a people, many reflections present themselves. We pardon a superstitious

443. imagination from fear of invisible powers, against which the courage of the bravest warriors is not sufficient, unless armed by philosophy†; but we cannot avoid noting the manner of making war in those times. Courage and power of the hand appears to have been its foundation, more than the art of campaigning, and the rules of military tactics. A warlike people, led on by experienced generals, was so ignorant of the situation of

* Tit. Liv. Lib. 9, "The Mountain Ciminus is now called the Mountain of Viterbo.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 9, thus describes the wood Ciminus:—"Sylva erat Cimina tunc invia atque horronda, quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus, nulli ad eam diem ne mercatorum quidem adita, &c." In every age, large and thick woods have been thought the abode of some deity; and greater as their obscurity was, greater the fear and reverence. The philosophy of Seneca did not guard him against this prejudice. "Si tibi occurrit vetustis arboribus et solitam altitudinem egressis frequens lucus, et conspectum cœli densitate ramorum submovens, illa proceritas sylvæ et secretum loci, et admiratio umbræ in aperto tam densæ atque continuæ, fidem tibi numinis facit." Senec. ad Luc. epist. 41. Religion and good sense have destroyed all the deities of the woods. The wood of Tasso is an imitation of the wood of Lucan, near Marsilia; but

the mountain of Viterbo, as not to dare to enter it; whilst the Etrurians thought they possessed in this wood an insurmountable bulwark against the Romans. The Roman army thus remaining in doubt, Fabius, brother of the Consul, who was skilled in the Etrurian tongue, offered to explore the terrible wood; and entering it, accompanied by a servant, both dressed as shepherds, they passed through the wood and mountain, observed the situation of the country, and its population, and arrived as far as Umbria. Fabius having arrived at Camerinum, and finding that people inclined to favour the Romans, he made himself known, and on returning afterwards to the camp, encouraged the Consul to ascend the mountain and penetrate into the heart of Etruria. The enterprise was executed; the Etrurian territories beyond Mount Ciminus were laid waste; and the soldiers, laden with booty, had scarcely again crossed the mountain, when they met the Roman Legates with two Tribunes, who commanded Fabius not to enter the wood Ciminus; so great was the terror it impressed upon the minds of the Romans.

The enterprise thus executed had still greater glory,

Cæsar appears still greater than Goffredo. See Phars. lib. 3, v. 399.

- “ Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
- “ Obscurum cingens connexis æra ramis.
- “ Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda
- “ Majestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent
- “ In sua credebant redituras membra secures.
- “ Implicitas magno Cæsar terrore cohortes
- “ Ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem
- “ Ausus, et æriam ferro proscindere quercum
- “ Effatur, merso violata in robore ferro :
- “ Jam ne quis vestrum dubitat præscindere sylvam
- “ Credite me fecisse nefas. Tunc paruit omnis
- “ Imperiis, non sublata securâ pavorè
- “ Turba, sed expensa superiorum, et Cæsaris ira.”

and the expedition of the Consul's brother was looked upon with the same degree of wonder as we now read of the travels of some adventurer who has penetrated into the unknown deserts of America. This event either greatly exasperated or alarmed the Etrurians, who, to avoid the threatened yoke, assembled the most numerous army they had ever led against the enemy, to which were united also the Umbrians, when, advancing as usual to Sutrium, they presented battle to the Romans. The latter, stuck with astonishment and dismay at the extraordinary number of their enemies, remained in their fortified camp. It is very probable that if the Etrurian commanders had taken advantage of the moment by attacking the Romans in their intrenchments, without giving them time to recover from their sudden panic, they would have overpowered them; but content with the terror they had struck into the enemy, they threatened only to attack them on the following day. Slumbering upon this vain threat, they neglected, with supine indifference, every necessary precaution against a surprise. The Roman Consul, seeing his troops by degrees regain courage, having ordered them to take their food, gave the command for attack at the dawn of day, when the Etrurian camp was confusedly immersed in sleep. The surprise was so great, that this immense multitude of warriors took to flight without resistance. It was rather a slaughter than a battle, and the great exaggeration alone of Livy, serves at least to shew us that a vast number were slain*. The terror of this defeat obliged

444. Aretinum, Cortona, and Perugia, at this time the

* Livy, lib. 9, asserts, that the number of the Umbrians and Etrurians killed and wounded amounted to 60,000; a number very improbable.

principal Etrurian cities, to sue for peace, and obtain a truce of thirty years; but the other cities persisted obstinately in war, which being fomented by the Umbrians, who had assisted the Etrurians, and intent upon resenting past injuries, they prepared one of the finest and most numerous armies ever assembled, with which they advanced against the Romans, whilst another body of Umbrians preceded and supported it. The Umbrians, hitherto unacquainted with Roman strength and courage, soon experienced a defeat, near the wood Ciminus. Not so easy was the victory over the Etrurians: the two armies met near the lake Vadimone*, the command of the Etrurians having been assigned to their king Elius Volturnus, or Volterranus. It did not appear to the Romans that they were fighting against an enemy they had so often defeated: leaving the uncertain and distant contest of arrows, the attack commenced only at

* The lake Vadimone is celebrated for various battles. Besides the present, twenty-seven years afterwards the Gauls were discomfited by Dolabella. It is now called the lake of Bassano. Pliny describes as a wonder the floating islands that are found in it, and upon which sheep and goats, by leaping thereon, are often transported into the midst of the lake. The same phenomenon is seen in our days in the sulphurous Albanian waters, between Rome and Tivoli, spoken of by Virgil, *Æn.* 7. This phenomenon is easily explained: in these turbid and stagnant waters are found scattered substances of every kind, and of various specific gravity; the heaviest of these waters go to the bottom, the less heavy remain at top, and by the union of attraction form these swimming masses. Between the lake Vadimone and the Tiber is a very extensive plain, where the above battles took place. The principle we have here explained, is the general one for the formation of these little islands. There may be other particular ones: the roots of marshy plants, especially of reeds and alders, entangling together, and covered with mire and putrefied leaves, form a turf, which, uniting together, create an island. (Targioni Viaggi, tom. 2. Padule di Bientina.)

the length of the sword, each choosing his adversary. Fury and obstinacy were equal on each side; the first ranks all fell, the second succeeded them with the same ardour, and both sides were exposed to the greatest danger. The infantry were either killed or wounded, and the cavalry having lost the greater part of their horses, were become useless; when the Roman knights, not disdaining to supply the loss of infantry, gathered in a band, and passing on foot over heaps of killed and wounded, came up with the ruined infantry of the Etrurians. This sudden and unexpected reinforcement decided the day, and the Etrurians experienced the most fatal defeat. The most warlike of their youth were lost, together with their national courage; their minds became debased, and from the loss of this battle we may date the ruin of the Etrurian power*. Succeeding endeavours were always weak; and from this period we find the Etrurian cities purchasing a truce, or peace, from the Romans, by the payment of a tribute. We perceive a certain authority of the Romans over them:

445. a Dictator crushes the seditions of the Aretines; every endeavour ended in the disgrace of Etruria, and a battle lost near Volterra, shews that the Romans had easily penetrated into the heart of their country†. They were no longer in a condition to cope with Rome; they needed powerful allies, which indeed they easily found, the increase of the Roman power having awakened a consternation in all the tribes of Italy. The Umbrians, the Etrurians, the Samnites, and the Gauls, at length determined to renew the war against the Romans: the number of fighting men, however, is certainly exaggerated, as the Samnites and Gauls united are made to

* Tit. Liv. lib. 9.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 10.

amount to 140,000 infantry, with 40,000 cavalry. The Etrurians and Umbrians composed another army. The intention was for the first army to commence the attack, the other falling upon the exhausted Romans in the heat of the contest. The Consuls Fabius Maximus, and Decius Mus, penetrating the interior of the enemy, called another body from Rome, which they sent to lay waste the lands of the Etrurians, in order to make a diversion. Instead of remaining firm at their post, where the great object was to be decided, the defence of their lands drew the Etrurians and Umbrians elsewhere: in the meantime the Samnites and Gauls attacked the Romans, and although the force of the latter finally prevailed, they found themselves in great danger. The wing commanded by the Consul Decius had been broken and put to flight, when their commander adopted one of those expedients which rarely fail in producing a happy result over superstitious people. After having tried in vain to stop the fugitives, he called to the high-priest Livius, and crying loudly that he offered himself as a sacrifice to Heaven for the safety of his army, commanded him to pronounce the mystical words of this act, and imprecations against the enemy. Having himself repeated them, he rushed forward into the thickest of the battle, where, fighting desperately, he was slain. This superstitious rite and spectacle detained both fugitives and conquerors. The high-priest began loudly to exclaim that the Romans could no longer be beaten; and animated by these exclamations, they struck terror into the Gauls, who were now easily defeated and dispersed;—so much good and so much evil can superstition produce! The action of Decius must be deemed great and magnanimous: his body was found with difficulty, buried

among a heap of the enemy*. The modern opinion which has hitherto prevailed, that the French armies were gifted with an impetuous fury at the first onset, but incapable of sustaining it long, may find a confirmation in the observation made by Livy on this battle with the Gauls†.

The contest was very bloody on both sides ; 25,000 of the allies, and 7,000 Romans, were left dead on the field. We meet hereafter with some puerile efforts of the Etrurians, similar to the last motions of an expiring animal ; and probably the last is their march when

473. Pyrrhus waged a furious war with the Romans ; they were, however, easily conquered, and Etruria was entirely subjugated by Tiberius Coruncanus. From this period no further mention is made of Etrurian wars. Thus finished a contest which had lasted more than four ages. The want of Etrurian historians, and the necessity of deriving information from the writings of their enemies, or those at least who were admirers of Rome, allows us to observe the Etrurians in no favourable light. Ignorant of information touching the internal political events of their country, we are deprived of the means of ascertaining how far they may have influenced their fall. Few reflections, however, are sufficient to enable us to trace their final overthrow to the luxury which prevailed among the people, and the weakness of their civil constitution.

* Tit. Liv. lib. 10. He only imitated his father Decius, who had made the same sacrifice in the Latin wars in the battle at the side of Vesuvius, near the city Vesevi. The death of the celebrated Codrus may also be mentioned as a similar example.

† “ Gallorum quidem corpora intollerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere, primaque eorum prælia plusquam virorum, postrema minus quam fæminarum esse.” Liv. lib. 10.

Etruria has been celebrated by all ancient writers for the riches and luxury displayed in her public spectacles, her dress, her habitations, and her tables covered with costly fare, even three times a day*.

In the following chapter it will be shewn that the fine arts flourished here earlier than in any other nation of Europe; a circumstance which, while it adds to the national splendour, is at the same time no less calculated to produce effeminacy both of mind and body. On the other hand, the Romans, inured to hardships, preserved no other arts than those of agriculture and warfare; and the same hands which at the head of their legions had borne arms with consular authority, did not disdain in peace to guide the plough. Whilst the Etrurians, during long truces, were enjoying the pleasures which the arts of luxury on every side afforded them, and were gradually enervating themselves in the bosom of effeminacy, the Romans were continually engaged in wars against the Volsci, the Sabines, &c. The constitution of the Etrurians, moreover, was less adapted to war; united by a very slender tie of confederation, the various cities or populations had no regular assemblies like the Amphictyonic Council in Greece; the Deputies only united in extraordinary cases at the temple of Voltumna, and the liberty which every city enjoyed to follow, or not, the common resolution, divided the members, and too frequently deprived them of the power of acting with an unanimous and well-concerted force. Besides which, nothing is more easy than to divide such a government, and then the weakest power can easily destroy it. Of this we have no few examples: in our own days, we have seen Holland, which, while united in one common cause,

* Deinst. Etrur. regal.

had successfully resisted the victorious arms of Louis the XIVth., subjugated by 25,000 Prussians, even at a moment when aided by a powerful army from England. We have seen too Switzerland conquered by the same means, and receiving laws from France. Such is the fate of federative republics, and was that of Etruria, although assisted, though perhaps too late, by other tribes or cities, which finally underwent the same destiny of being subjugated by all-conquering Rome. This torrent, confined within its banks for some ages by other cities, had only acquired force and depth, and having finally exceeded them, covered not only with its flood the whole of Italy, but extended itself through all Europe, Asia, and Africa, and over the richest and most fertile provinces of the world. The Roman people, however, the greatest the earth has ever known, treated the Etrurians hereafter not as slaves, but as brethren. Various cities of the province obtained the honour of Roman citizenship: by degrees Etruria became associated with the Roman power, adopted its disposition, its customs, imbibed its generous sentiments, and became highly useful to Rome in her foreign wars. From this epoch, however, the events of Etruria are confounded with those of Rome, and the Etrurian history is poured (to make use of the expression) into the Roman; nor is Etruria any longer an object of particular history, until, after the ruin and dissolution of the Roman empire, she returned to form under the name of Tuscany, a separate province, governed by her own laws.

CHAPTER II.

THE ETRURIAN ALPHABET.—LABOURS OF DEMPSTER.—ETRURIAN ACADEMY OF CORTONA.—DISPUTES BETWEEN GORI AND MAFFEI.—OPINIONS OF LANZI.—PHILOSOPHY OF THE ETRURIANS.—THEIR IDEAS OF THE SUPREME BEING.—LAMPREDI ON THE BIRTH OF PYTHAGORAS.—RESPECT OF THE ROMANS FOR THE LEARNING OF THE ETRURIANS.—THEIR NOTIONS OF ASTRONOMY.—USEFUL INVENTIONS.—THEATRICAL REPRESENTATIONS.—DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY CURZIO INGHIRAMI.—WORKS OF THE ETRURIANS IN BRONZE.—RUINS OF PÆSTUM.—OPINIONS OF WINKELMAN.—ETRURIAN VASES.

IT is necessary to be brief on the subject upon which we are about to enter, in order not to weary the reader with arguments supported by light conjecture, and through fear of taking, at every step, the shadow for the substance. The art of the critical antiquarian is most to be admired, when enabled to form an ingenious system from few and certain materials: but here all is uncertainty; language, literature, sciences, inventions, are supported more by imagination than judgment. Language, particularly, is always a kind of enigma, and perhaps the Etrurian labyrinth of Porsenna, or that of Crete, were less inextricable than the Tuscan language. Nevertheless a crowd of distinguished literati have believed themselves in possession of the thread of Ariadne; but in order to have an idea of their difficulties, we have only to observe,

that rarely have they ever agreed upon the alphabet, and they deserve excuse, on account of the slender materials which they have been obliged to build with. If a few broken columns, and some ill-formed stones, were excavated from an ancient soil, where history and tradition inform us there existed an august temple, or a magnificent palace, should we feel disposed to trust those architects who might present us with a sketch of those buildings taken from such poor monuments? Yet the architects are many in our case, and their designs consequently various, one presenting us with an Egyptian, another a Grecian, and a third an Asiatic edifice.

It is natural to imagine that the ingenious Tuscans have taken care to illustrate their ancient soil, but an Englishman (Thomas Dempster,) has mostly laboured thereon. Before him, however, the Aretine Attilio Alessi had put his sickle to this harvest, formed an Etruscan alphabet, and obtained inscriptions since the sixteenth century: but as his history where all this is mentioned, remains still a manuscript*, his observations were unknown to Dempster. This writer, during the three years he was professor of Pandects, in the University of Pisa, gathered many documents relating to Etruria. Too frequently drawn aside by mere conjecture, and transported by imagination on the subject he had undertaken to embellish, he attributes too many inventions, and too much science, to Etruria; yet he is, nevertheless, the individual who has most successfully laboured in the contest. His *Etruria Regale* remained unprinted for nearly a century, and when it was proposed to print it in Florence, the Florentine antiquarians were

* This manuscript is at present in the library belonging to the family Riccardi.

stimulated to offer many explanations and additions. In this epoch, antiquarian studies were pursued with more than ordinary fervour, and Buonarroti, Gori, Salvini, Lami, &c., greatly distinguished themselves. A respectable city of Etruria, in order to illustrate her ancient mother, consecrated immediately an academy, devoted principally to Etrurian antiquities, when Maffei, Passeri, Mazzocchi, Olivieri, Bourguet, and many learned foreigners, vied with each other for distinction. All of these employed much labour in a sandy field; and as fancy is never more gratified than when supported by a few dates, she has the power to take the most convenient road. These illustrious men arrived often, by very laborious journeys, at very different results, excusable if they have sometimes erred, as their road was

“ Quale per incertam lunam sub luce malignâ

“ Est iter in sylvis *.”

This diversity of opinion sometimes produced much warmth of argument on either side, and Maffei and Gori particularly, like two gladiators descending into the arena, and throwing at each other the insolence of learning, arrived at what Maffei had too surely predicted—the amusement of the public at their own expense†. The Etrurian language is the “Selva selvaggia ed aspra e forte‡,” where it appears that these learned men

. la dritta via abbian smarrita.

Nothing shows this more clearly than the great variety of opinions, and the impossibility of giving a rational

* Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 6.

† Fabb. (*Vita Maffei.*) Maffei, drawing a parody from two verses of Tasso, says of his adversary,

Lieta Commedia vuol che si appresenti
Per lor diporto alle straniere genti!

‡ Dante *Inf. cant.* 1.

translation to the few remains of Etrurian writings. A dispute ensued between Maffei and Gori upon the Etrurian alphabet. The former, who derived the Etrurian origin from the Canaanites, insists that their language arises from the Samaritan. Gori discovers a great similarity between the Tuscan letters and vowels and the ancient Greek; an opinion which gained more followers than that of Maffei: after much labour, however, alphabets were indeed formed, but almost without rule. The Frenchman Bourguet, in this instability of foundation, found some support. By comparing the Eugubine tables, two of which are written in Latin characters, but in the Etrurian tongue, he thought he perceived that the fourth in Etrurian letters contained a compendium of the two Latin ones; it appearing to him, that with little variation, many words of the Latin were repeated, and upon this foundation he formed an alphabet. The other documents by which the alphabet has been increased and improved, and the language interpreted, are the various inscriptions, the shortest of which are found in jewels, medals, and goblets, and consist, for the most part, in names only, accompanied by some figure from which it has been thought an explanation might be derived. Gloomy monuments, such as urns, tiles, and pots, contain the longest: the most important feature they possess is the frequent Latin translation, by which the proper names furnish us with a key to the alphabet, and the translations make the road easy to the interpretation of the language; but antiquarians meet with so many difficulties to make the translation correspond with the original, that they are obliged to contend that the sentiments have been often changed in the Latin translation; a conjecture by no means probable*, and

* Lanzi, *Essay upon the Etrurian Language*. tom. 2. (*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, tom. 2.)

which the reader will interpret according to his own judgment.

The inscriptions on altars, candlesticks, or statues, are much longer. These monuments form the foundation to the interpretation of the Etrurian tongue. Besides the Etrurian, we are assured that there were in Italy the Euganean, the Volscian, the Umbrian, the Samnitian, and the Oscan tongues. If so much similarity is found between these and the Etrurian, and if Etruria reigned at one time over all Italy, the most probable opinion leads us to believe them dialects of the latter. The writing of the Etrurians, as of the most ancient eastern nations, runs from right to left, and sometimes the second line from left to right, changing directions; a method which obtained the name of *bustrofedo*, from the use of oxen in ploughing, which labour it imitates. After the labours of so many, the alphabet of Gori is the one most received; nevertheless Lanzi, who has treated the subject with so much learning, has made some change in it.

This learned man agrees with Gori upon the similarity of the Etrurian tongue with the Greek and Latin, and we find in his work the ingenious conjectures by which he shows the analogy*. Now even supposing that to be true which is contradicted by others, what will be the consequence? does the similarity of some words prove that the Etrurian tongue is derived from the Greek? Speaking of a nation whose historians and books of every kind are lost, and of which we derive only scanty information from writers so much later, are we to infer that language, sciences, and the arts, were derived from Greece? To a Greek who thus reasoned with a Tuscan, the latter

* Lanzi, Essay upon the Etrurian Language.

might answer, taking “*quæsitam meritis superbiam*:” and why not rather infer, that from Etruria, knowledge, language, and arts, were poured into Greece? Our ancient Etrurians, even by the confession of those who idolize Greece*, cultivated the fine arts, when the Greeks were still barbarians. Lanzi assures us, that if this had actually been true, the Latin writers would not have failed to make known this glory of Italy; but it is not difficult to observe, that in order to establish the truth of such a statement, it would be necessary to produce historical documents, and it unfortunately happens that at the period when the first Roman writers existed, almost all the Etrurian documents had been lost. It is, moreover, to be noted, that the Romans were ambitious supporters of their own glory and grandeur, which they adorn even with fable, whilst they neglect and often despise those of their neighbours. The negligence and errors of ancient writers upon this head, too, are scarcely credible: of this Herodotus, the most ancient historian, and the nearest to heroic times, is an example; for although it has been clearly shewn that the poets Linus, Orpheus, and Melampus, preceded Homer, the father of history has not hesitated in asserting that they lived after him†. To such proofs we might add, in order to sustain our opinion, the conjectures we have made upon the origin of the Etrurians, and the authority of Virgil, who derives the origin of Troy from Italy. These reflections are only intended to moderate the boldness of many writers on the affairs of Etruria. And, in fact,

* Winkelman, *Stor. dell. Art. del Dis. lib. 3. cap. 1.*

† Gillies’s *History of Ancient Greece*, chap. 6. The negligence of Herodotus is very great; besides other proofs, Linus is mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad*, Book 18. Melampus in the *Odyssey*, Book 11.

what can be inferred from the similarity of some words in two languages? Let us suppose that one of those great events, either physical or political, which have changed the face of the earth, should destroy the literary documents of Europe, and no other memorial should remain but the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues, which are chiefly derived from the Latin—that one of these was entirely lost, a few inscriptions alone remaining—antiquarians discovering in these inscriptions a similarity of words, by adopting the same arguments which are employed upon the Etrurian language, and by referring to the fragments of those historians who had survived the wreck of ages, might denominate either the one or the other the mother tongue, as their caprice might dictate.

The most celebrated monument of the Etrurian language is to be found in the Eugubine tables; seven of which were discovered in the neighbourhood of Gubbio, in the year 1444; and notwithstanding the labours and researches of various writers on the subject, the inscriptions contained on these tables still remain a secret, as the impartial reader will readily perceive from the diversity of opinion which prevails among the various interpreters. Buonarroti believes them to be conventions of nations; Gori and Bourguet an Oscan poem, or lamentations of the afflicted Pelasgi; Olivieri, Maffei, and Passeri, descriptions of rites, or laws relating to private disputes; while Lanzi, who subsequently examined them with so much diligence, thinks they refer to religion and sacrifices. The latter, however, with much ingenuity, confesses that he interpreted only a small part of them, and that the remainder were still unknown to him*.

* Lanzi, *Loc. Cit.* The single word which appears in the Chimera of Bronze in the Royal Gallery of Florence, is a knot for

In order to have a still further idea of the obscurity of the subject, we must not omit the interpretation of one of these tables by the celebrated Doctor Lami, and his opinion upon the Etrurian tongue, which, amidst so much uncertainty, appears the most probable. Whilst so many of the literati, with a view to arrive at some interpretation, are seeking a similarity of the Etrurian words with the Samaritan, the Greek, &c., he has entirely directed his attention to the Latin; and in a minute and long examination contained in his Gualfondian Letters, by comparing Latin words expressing substances the least subject to change of name, and the most ancient, as mountains, rivers, cities, &c., then proper names, and many other subjects, with the Etrurian, he has discovered a much stronger similarity than the most learned have been able to trace with the other foreign tongues; whence he is induced to consider the two as collateral dialects. It might also be said, that Etruria having once been pre-eminent in arms, arts, and letters, it is natural that she should have communicated her tongue to the subjugated nations, whence their languages became various dialects of the Etrurian, and one of these the Latin; and, in truth, the ancient fragments of the latter are almost equally unintelligible with the Etrurian.

Finally, Lami gives a translation of the same Eugubine Tables*, which Gori interpreted, and by him called *Carmen Orthium Lamentabile*. The reader, who is de-

interpreters; they read it Tinmeuil or Tinmicuil. Buonarotti thinks it the name either of an artist or animal; Gori, that it signifies the quality of a beast, that is, "ready for vengeance;" Passeri believes it to be the name of a revengeful deity, whilst an Englishman (Swinton) makes it signify a dragon, a goat, or a lion.

* Lettere Gualfondiane. lett. 20.

sirous of tracing the different and distant roads into which these writers have been led by their imaginary systems, may refer to the two translations; both are confused, yet that of Lami is much to be preferred, although this illustrious and learned man, perceiving, perhaps, the common error, and finding himself bewildered in the labyrinth, has happily quoted the following verses from Ariosto, to represent the supposititious journeys of antiquarians through the obscure paths of conjecture:

Varii gli affetti son, ma la pazzia
 E tutt' una però che gli fa uscir, e
 Gli è come una gran selva, oye la via
 Convieni a forza a chi vi va fallere;
 Chi su, chi giù, chi qua, chi la travia, &c.

After so many experiments, abounding with contradictions, it must be confessed that the Etrurian tongue is still unintelligible—a conclusion assuredly humiliating to literary vanity; but the documents which exist are so few, that even were the most perfect explanation given to them, little would remain upon which knowledge might be profitably exercised. We therefore conclude our reflections on this subject by repeating the sentiments of the English writers of universal history. According to their opinion, the alphabetical characters of the Etrurians are the most ancient at present known, and different monuments of this people rival in antiquity any that exist, not excepting even the Egyptian.

Etrurian science and literature present us with few but less uncertain objects. That the Etrurians preceded all European nations in the cultivation of letters, arts, and sciences, appears from the testimony of our own countrymen, confirmed by that of foreigners*. A

* Winkel. Ist. dell' Art. tom. 1. lib. 3. cap. 1. Caylus Recueil d'Antiq.

learned writer, however, often mentioned, does not esteem their philosophy and learning*, and supports his opinion by observing that when the Romans, in order to reform their laws, wished to consult a wise people, they did not turn to Etruria, but to Greece, as related by Livy†. To this it may be answered, that the learned Gibbon‡, with his accustomed discrimination, has attached much suspicion to the statement of the Roman historian; and history affords the most abundant proofs that wherever the fine arts have flourished, there also letters have shone. The remains of Etrurian arts are still admired, although no documents exist to preserve the birth and progress of letters: the works of their historians have perished, some of whom existed, according to the testimony of Varro, down to the eighth age§; -and the little that is known of them is derived from some passages of those Greek or Latin writers, who casually speak of them. Seneca adverts to their theology and natural philosophy. Beginning too with one of the most important parts of human learning, the ideas of God, it does not appear that a greater or more just one can be formed, than that of the Etrurians mentioned by the writer just quoted, where he calls God, Keeper, Monarch, the Spirit and Animator of the universe, Lord and Artificer, &c. “Eumdem quem nos Jovem intelligunt, custodem, rectoremque universi, animum ac spiritum, mundani hujus operis Dominum et Artificem, cui nomen omne convenit: vis illum fatum vocare? non erabis. Hic est, ex quo suspensa sunt omnes causæ causarum. Vis illum Providentiam dicere? recte dices, est enim cujus consilio huic mundo providetur, ut in-

* Lanzi, Saggio di Lingua Etrusca.

† Tit. Liv. lib. 3.

‡ Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, chap. 44.

§ Censor. De die natali, cap. 5.

concussus eat et actus suos explicet. Vis illum naturam vocare? non peccabis: est enim ex quo nata sunt, omnia cujus spiritu vivimus. Vis illum vocare mundum? non falleris, ipse enim est totum quod vides, totus suis partibus inditus, et se sustinens vi sua. Idem et Etruscis quoque visus est," &c *. The idea is expressed with sublimity; nevertheless, an illustrious writer has pronounced this doctrine as erroneous†, and not unlike that of Pythagoras, Zeno, and the modern Spinoso. To attempt an investigation of the mysterious doctrines of Pythagoras, or the less intelligible tenets of Spinoso, would at once involve us in the obscure labyrinths of ancient and modern metaphysics; yet it appears a sophistical severity to pass such a sentence upon an opinion which speaks so clearly of the *Creator of things*, by whose *counsel* this world is provided for; whilst, in the system of Spinoso, matter is increate, and neither Counsel nor Providence is admitted. The only equivocal expression, which would appear to approximate it to Spinoso, would be found in the sentiment, that all we see is God—a phrase which has been frequently employed by the most orthodox writers, and which signifies no more than that, in the wondrous works of the creation, the Creator is discovered. A hundred writers of verse and prose have repeated the same sentiment, and an ingenious modern poet‡, replying to an atheist, says that he is deceived, because

. . . Quodcunque vides, quodcunque movetur
Est Deus, et grandi vestitur imagine mundus.

Pope expresses himself in a similar manner in one of his

* Seneca. Quæst. Nat. lib. 2, cap. 45.

† Lampredi, Saggio sulla Filos. degli. ant. Etrus.

‡ Sectan. Sat. I.

moral essays, and even the pious Metastasio, in order to convince an incredulous person, says,

Ovunque il guardo giro,
O sommo Dio, ti vedo, &c.

And in fact, what better argument can we use to convince ignorant minds of the existence of a Creator, than to present to them the wonderful scene of the universe, the intelligent mechanism with which motions both celestial and terrestrial are made, and from things created, to infer the wisdom of the Creator? But still more we shall be able to compute the injustice of the interpretation from a passage of Suidas *, who refers to a fragment of an ancient Etrurian writer upon the creation of the world, worthy the attention of the reader from its analogy to the book of Genesis, although the days are protracted to thousands of years. “*Opificem rerum omnium Deum duodecim annorum millia universi hujus creationi impendisse; ac primo millenario fecisse cœlum et terram, altero fecisse firmamentum illud quod apparet, idque cœlum vocasse, tertio mare et aquas omnes quæ sunt in terra, quarto luminaria magna solem et lunam, itemque stellas, quinto omnem animam volucrum, reptilium et quadrupedum: videri itaque potest sex milliarios ante formationem hominis præterisse, et reliquos sex milliarios duraturum esse genus hominum, ut sit universum consummationis tempus duodecim millium annorum.*” In this passage the Creator is distinguished from things created, which is contrary to the system of Spinoza, and the act of creation is mentioned in the most specific terms. The word destiny admits of so many explanations in the systems of the earlier natural theologists, that after Seneca has clearly spoken

* Suidas, in voce Tyrrena.

of Providence and Counsel, it would be cavillous malignity to take it in a bad sense. In the ancient philosophers we find so much obscurity of sentiment, that we cannot fairly attach ourselves to the worst; and as the same metaphysical errors are often repeated with merely a change of name, many of those unintelligible subtilties are found in Seneca upon the explanation of destiny, that the Jansenists invented upon the doctrine of grace and predestination*. Even English writers of universal History, and the acute Cudworth, have in the best manner interpreted the above passage from Seneca.

Of the remainder of Etrurian philosophy we have only very scanty fragments; a philosophy for the most part supposititious and obscure: but if it could be proved, as many learned men have maintained, that Pythagoras was a native of Etruria, this philosophy would acquire great lustre. The contest lies between Samos and Etruria, and an equal number of writers on both sides might be quoted. It is certain that this father of philosophy was a long time in Magna Grecia, where he founded a celebrated school, which induced Plato to visit Italy†. Seeking a pacific soil where he might fix his residence, Pythagoras flew from Samos, then oppressed by the tyrant Polycrates, and having visited Olympia, Elis, and Sparta, where he found no opportunity to philosophize, he came to Italy, and in the quiet and splendid Magna Grecia awakened the highest admiration of his learning‡. Crotone saw more than 2,000 scholars surround him: the peace which this country then enjoyed had generated an extraordinary luxury, and Sibaris has perpetuated even to our days

* See Seneca. Quæst. Natur. lib. 2. † Cic. Tuscul. lib. 1.

‡ Porph. Jambl. Justin.

the effeminacy by which it had acquired no very honourable celebrity. Pythagoras reformed with his lessons this luxury and effeminacy; and before this philosopher and political missionary, the women themselves laid aside their refinements of dress, and put on more modest attire. Those principles of morality and politics which tend to improve society and make men happy, were the leading objects of his lessons; nor were the secrets of nature neglected by him. Although a great part of his doctrine was enveloped in dark mysteries, it is nevertheless certain that Pythagoras taught many of the finest truths, which, after having been long buried in oblivion, have risen again, and done honour to moderns as new discoveries. To him belongs the demonstration of the celebrated 47th Proposition of the first book of Euclid, the distribution of the celestial sphere, and consequently the Copernican system; the cause of solar and lunar eclipses, the law of gravitation towards the sun, the nature of comets, &c.* Even the master of the loftiest song, Homer, travelled through Italy, and fixed his residence in Etruria, where he probably learnt the fables of Averno, Acheron, Circes, the Sirens, &c., and it becomes melancholy to remember that in this country he lost his sight †. The learning of the Etrurians appears to have been held in great repute by the Romans: according to the testimony of Livy, they caused their children to be instructed in Etrurian as well as Grecian literature ‡. The Etrurians cultivated me-

* Gregory, Maclaurin, Montucla, Dutens, Mainers, &c.

† Heracl. Pontic. fragmen. de Politicis. Gori, Mus. Etrus. tom. 2.

‡ Auctores habeo Romanos pueros sicuti nunc Græcis, ita tunc Etruscis literis eruderi solitos. *Tit. Liv.* lib. 9. The words *Etruscis literis* remove the doubts entertained by some writers, that the instruction related merely to religious ceremonies: they

dicine, and were considered as the discoverers of medical remedies *. Dempster has attempted to corroborate this statement by citing a letter, probably apocryphal, from Hippocrates to Philepomenes, in which it is said that medicine has a close connexion with the art of divining, and from which he infers that the Etrurians, having been the inventors of the latter, must also have invented the former. An opinion of the Etrurians renewed in our days †, was, that thunder and lightning came out of the bosom of the earth, as well as that which descends from the clouds ‡; an opinion which may be sustained, at least in part, after the great discoveries of Franklin, who in re-establishing the electrical equilibrium between the clouds and the earth, states that the explosion may sometimes take place upon the latter, and the current of electric fire go from the bottom to the top. The opinion discovers genius, observation, and refinement of reasoning in the Etrurians.

A modern writer has honoured the ancient Etrurian and Latin soothsayers with one of the greatest modern discoveries, the art of being obeyed by thunder and lightning. Dutens, in his observations, more ingenious than true, upon the origin of discoveries attributed to moderns, after maintaining that the ancients knew and made use of the telescope §, has the courage

were indeed sent to Etruria also for that purpose, but the passage of Livy speaks only of literary instruction.

* Martian. Capell. de Nupt. Philosoph. et Merc. lib. 6.

† Maffei.

‡ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 53. Seneca. Quæst. Natur.

§ Experience had taught the ancients, that by descending to the bottom of a well the stars were seen even in day-time: they made use of some long tubes open on both sides to look at distant objects,

to come forward with this strange assertion; nor does he adduce any reason in support of it, but that we know there were some religious ceremonies against thunder and lightning consecrated to Jupiter Elicius, which he translates Jupiter Electric. This Jupiter, he says, personified in thunder, was obliged to come upon the earth, laying his foundation particularly upon the verses of Ovid—

Eliciunt cœlo te Jupiter, unde minores
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.

He adds, that Tullius Hostilius, in badly managing the ceremony of invoking thunder, was killed, as the unfortunate Richman was in our own days. This airy conjecture would acquire body and strength, if the existence of an ancient medal could be verified, representing Jove on high with a thunderbolt in his hand, and below a man guiding with a string a large eagle, which is the method by which Franklin brought his system to the last demonstration. But we know not where to find a medal so singular as to excite the attention of antiquarians and philosophers, and the importance of the fact deserved that the author should give some authority for his statement; as the public cannot be contented with a mere

as by receiving only in the eye the rays emanating from the single object that is looked at, the sensation is more lively: these were the telescopes of the ancients: Dutens gratuitously adds the convex of glasses, by strangely interpreting some passages from ancient writers. It is easy to perceive that a discovery so wonderful would not have been mentioned doubtfully, but that we should have a description of it in a hundred places: its utility alone in navigation would have rendered it memorable in history. The same may be said of Franklin's discovery. It is somewhat extraordinary that a writer who has attributed to the ancients almost all the great modern discoveries, should censure Dempster for attributing too many inventions to the Etrurians.

vague and uncertain assertion*. But following the Etrurian inventions, the soothsayers, who certainly observed celestial phenomena, (as in these the conjurors of every country have hoped to read the future,) made mention of the great year, which discovers no ordinary skill in astronomy. Pliny asserts that hand-mills were invented in the city of Bolsena; and if Piseus Tirrenus added to nautics the anchor and the naval rostrum †, it is a new argument in favour of Etrurian skill in navigation. The invention of wind instruments, or rather the cultivation of music, is conjectured from the observation that these instruments are seen in the Etrurian bas-reliefs only, expressive of festivals and sacrifices ‡; and the Tyrrhene tube, by universal consent of writers, was of Etrurian invention §. The Romans drew their first theatrical representations from Etruria, and from its language actors are still called histrionic ||. The Atellan fables, a rude dramatic composition, were brought by the Osci, an Etrurian tribe, to Rome ¶. Volumnius wrote Etrurian tragedies ** probably before the Romans had the first rudiments of learning; and the jovial and licentious Fescennini came to the Romans from the Etrurian tribe Fescennia. By the Etrurians the Romans were instructed in almost all the arts, and adopted the virtues and vices, the worth and the defects, of the former. The scenic masks of the Romans are also an invention of the Etru-

* We quote the words of the author: "A personage worthy of belief has asserted that latterly a medal has been found with the inscription Jupiter Elicius, representing Jove with thunder on high, and beneath him a man governing a flying stag." Dutens Orig. &c. Traduz. di Venezia.

† Plin. lib. 7. cap. 56. ‡ Buonar. Supple. ad Dempst.

§ Athen. Deips. lib. 4. Pollu. Onomas, cap. 11.

|| Tac. Ann. lib. 14. ¶ Tit. Liv. dec. 1. lib. 7.

** Verro presso Dempst.

rians*; and if they acquired from the latter the formidable discipline of fighting with steady foot in close battalion†, they likewise adopted from them the barbarous practices of the gladiators. The greater part of the games, processions, and religious customs, were also introduced into Rome from Etruria.

The mysterious documents published by Curzio Inghirami have been pronounced apocryphal, but the singularity of his statements are deserving of notice. This young nobleman of Volterra, during his residence at his villa of Scornello, in the year 1634, discovered a stone of globular shape, formed of various strata, and containing in the centre a paper on which certain prophecies were noted. Pursuing his researches, he found many similar envelopes, enclosing fragments of Etrurian history, &c. The documents are numerous, and have been published in a large volume‡. Among them was a letter of Prospero, a native of Fiesole, who appears to have been the author of the greater part of these memorials and prophecies, and who states that he lived in the times of Sylla, and concealed his documents in what he calls *scharith*§. The grand duke Ferdinand the Second, doubting the authenticity of these discoveries, ordered an investigation to be made, and for that purpose appointed a deputation of two noble Florentines, who, with the assistance of engineers, succeeded in excavating new writings; and the deputies made a formal declaration, that the ground had not been opened for many

* Dempst. tom. 2. tav. 90.

† Athen. lib. 6.

‡ “Etruscarum Antiq. Fragmenta à Curtio Inghirami propè Scornellum reperta.”

§ Allacci satirically infers that this word is derived from the Hebrew, signifying fraud or deceit.

ages*. A tribunal competent to judge of this dispute should be formed of antiquarians, and not of lawyers. In short, they immediately judged the prophecies of Prospero supposititious, and among those who chiefly distinguished themselves were Enrico Ernestio, and Leone Alacci, by showing a thousand incongruities. Not only had the author availed himself of old torn parchment, but his pretended prophecies were evidently written after the events had taken place; as an instance of which he prophesied that the house Farnese should be mistress of Parma. Although we may choose to believe the devil a prophet†, yet hardly shall we find in our days any one weak enough to believe the Fiesole soothsayer capable of so much.

Something would remain to be said upon this subject, were it not difficult to determine with whom the invention originated. The first suspicion fell upon Curzio Inghirami, yet we cannot with any probability imagine that he was capable of executing such a design. When examined, he had completed 20 years; and allowing a necessary time to write such a number of papers, in which so many different hand-writings appeared, also that which must have elapsed before the earth could become so firmly consolidated, we shall go down to so tender an

* Documents collected by Canonico Lesci.

† The celebrated Fontenelle, after having written an extract from the work of Vandal upon oracles, in which he maintained that they were merely frauds of the Pagan priests, was attacked for his opinion by the Jesuit Balto, who contended it was the Devil who gave the Oracles, and that the opinions of Vandal and Fontenelle were not orthodox. Fontenelle, stimulated by a journalist to reply, but declining at the same time the question, gave the journalist this celebrated answer: "*Je consens que le Diable ait été prophète puisque le Jésuite le veut, et qu'il croit cela plus orthodoxe.*"

age of this youth as to render it impossible for him to contrive and execute such a fraud. Whoever might have been the impostor, must be placed for the prophecy above mentioned, the establishment of the house Farnese in Parma, between the years 1550 and 1634. After having hidden the writings, death probably hindered him from laughing at the simplicity of those who had given him credit*; and to dispute about whom the invention belongs to, (wisely says a modern historian), is the same as to quarrel about what nation is the most ancient.

The fine arts are inhabitants of all climates; but, like plants, they do not find every soil equally fruitful. Daughters of imagination, they rise whenever public applause or royal favour unfolds those buds which nature has planted equally in the soul of the elegant artists of Greece, and of the savages of America. It would be fruitless to search into the obscure notions of ancient ages for the origin of painting and the sister arts; and if the invention of the former has been attributed to love, who dictated to the maid of Sicyon the ingenious contrivance of marking in the wall the outlines of her lover's countenance, who was about to leave her, it must be confessed that such an assertion is more poetical than historical, the thought being too easy not to have fallen into the mind of the most ancient inhabitants of the earth†. It is useless however to lose time in investi-

* Consult the learned work of Leone Alacci, in which, with so much exactitude and learning, he examines the paper, the orthography, and ink itself of the writings mentioned, and proves them to be modern.

† Pliny speaks of the art of making clay-work or modelling, when he mentions this fact, (lib. 35. cap. 12.,) which by many has been applied to the origin of painting: it is true that he also ascribes the invention to the same artifice in Sicyon or Corinth,

gating from what people the Etrurians learnt the fine arts. There is nothing certain amidst the darkness of antiquity; whence we have every right to suppose that they rose and grew in Etruria as they had done in India, or in Egypt. That the Greeks, in their ancient emigrations to Etruria, brought the fine arts with them, as Winkelman has thought, is not only uncertain, but probably untrue; the epoch of the glory of the Grecian arts being later than that of the Etrurian, it would be difficult to demonstrate that the Greek colonists of those times were more polished than their Etrurian cotemporaries. But we will refer to the various epochs of ancient Greece, from which it might be possible to infer that the arts were cultivated in that country at the time they flourished in Etruria. In her first epoch, when governed by the ferocious Pelasgi and the rude Hellenians, she had no idea of the arts of imitation. The heroic times succeeded; and the ship *Argos*, so much celebrated, probably conveyed only corsairs who were induced to visit *Colehis*, to plunder the gold which was extracted from the sands of the river *Phasis*. Then followed the war of the seven Heroes against *Thebes*, and finally the celebrated Trojan war. Through all these ages we have not the smallest notice of the fine arts being cultivated in Greece; but poetry alone, which amongst nations even the most rude has always been the companion of heroes and warriors. After the ruin of *Troy*, the princes who had been so long absent from their dominions, found them all in confusion, and ripe for rebellion; and the domestic peace being disturbed, those

and ridicules the Egyptians for boasting that it arose with them 6,000 years before it was known in Greece (*lib. 3. c. 3.*;) but without excepting the Egyptian chronology, the art must have been practised in Asia or in Egypt much earlier than in Greece.

fierce civil wars took place which desolated that country for nearly four centuries, and which are so eloquently described by Thucydides. The fourth century after the ruin of Troy coincides with the origin of Rome, a time in which the industrious Etrurians, whose cities were most flourishing, and who enjoyed a tranquil repose, cultivated the art of painting, and cast wonderfully in bronze. Pliny asserts that the pictures of Ardea and Lanuvium were of a date prior to Rome, and that the triumphal car of Romulus was cast in bronze by Etrurian artificers.

This short history, and particularly the testimony of Pliny, destroys every difficulty against our assertion, and especially that derived from the emigration from Corinth of Demaratus, spoken of by Strabo, upon which so much stress has been laid by the favourers of the Greeks, and which it is necessary to detail on account of its being quoted by so many as a proof that the Etrurians owe much to the Greeks in the imitative arts.

After the building of Rome, Demaratus came from Corinth, accompanied by numerous colonists, and being favourably received by the Tarquinesi, he married a Roman lady, by whom he had a son, called Lucumone. Afterwards, having become the friend of Ancus Martius, king of the Romans, Lucumone himself got the kingdom, and was called Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. Both he and his father equally adorned Etruria; the latter with the manufacturers who had followed him from his native country, the former with the riches drawn from Rome. This is the celebrated passage upon which many writers have endeavoured to support the opinion that the Greeks became masters of Etruria. But to cut asunder the knot, it is necessary to call to mind that we have already demonstrated that the arts flourished in Etruria before the birth of Rome; whence it follows that the

expedition of Demaratus could have added but little to the Etrurian arts, which at that time flourished more than those of Greece. These artists are called by Strabo *demiurgi*, a word that generically embraces every kind of art, and grammatically speaking, those whose works are publicly exposed to sale. But let us hear another Greek historian, also cotemporary and perhaps somewhat prior to Strabo, viz., Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who speaks of the arrival of Demaratus in the following words*: “Demaratus, a merchant, made a voyage to Italy, having laden at his own expense a vessel with merchandise, which he sold in the Etrurian cities, then the most flourishing part of Italy; and having drawn therefrom considerable gain, he would not touch at any other port, always going and returning through the same sea, and carrying the Grecian merchandise to the Etrurians, and the Etrurian to the Grecians: but a conspiracy taking place in Corinth, he formed the design of leaving it, and established himself in Tarquinii,” &c. This author makes no mention of artists, but merely alludes to merchants who sold or exchanged Grecian wares for those of Etruria, which corresponds exactly with the word *demiurgi*. If, as Dionysius asserts, the cities of Etruria were the most fortunate of Italy, are we not to suppose that here it was that the fine arts flourished? Innumerable assertions of respectable writers attest that before the arrival of Demaratus, the fine arts were in their splendour in Etruria: the beautiful pictures that were found there, according to the testimony of Pliny, in Ardea, Cere, &c., were painted before the birth of Rome. The four celebrated horses, and the statue of Romulus crowned by Victory†, were cast in bronze, by

* Lib. 3. § 46. anti. Roma. † Dion. Halicar. Antiq. Rom. lib. 3.

the Etrurians; and Tarquinius Priscus himself, wishing to get carved the famous statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, did not apply to Corinth, but to Turrianus of Flegelle, where the Etrurian arts flourished. What can we reply to these facts? It has already been seen, that on account of political circumstances, Greece could not, before the birth of Rome, cultivate those arts for which leisure and tranquillity are necessary: the priority of the arts in Etruria, therefore, remains demonstrated. We will make no critical observation upon the passage of Strabo, nor assert that the Greeks, desirous of deriving all fine things from their country, have often impudently lied, as Dion Cassius upon Cicero, calumniated by him in order to degrade him before the face of his philosophers. The Romans knew them sufficiently well, and Juvenal exclaimed,

... Et quidquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.

All the fabulous histories of Dædalus, so celebrated as an artist, related by Pausanias and others, are to be placed in the same list; although in the fable of Dædalus, adopted by Virgil, we might wish to concur in the passage of the fine arts from the East to the West.

Dædalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna
Præpetibus pennis ausus se credere cœlo,
Insuetum per iter gelidos erravit ad Arctos,
Chalcidicaque lævis tandem superadstitit arce.
Redditus his primum terris tibi, Phœbe, sacravit
Remigium alarum, posuitque immania templa.

We will briefly notice what many lay great stress upon, as the works of ancient Etruria, viz., the ruins of Pæstum. Posidonia, or Pæstum, about two miles distant from the river Silarus, between Campania and Lucania, was a very ancient city of Magna Grecia. At present, it presents

us with massy remains which evidently belonged to immense and elegant buildings. Father Paoli looks upon them all as Etrurian, others as Grecian, as in this part of Italy, called *Magna Græcia*, the fine arts flourished, and certainly some of them have a Grecian stamp; nevertheless we must not believe them entirely Greek, but a part Etrurian, when Etruria ruled over all Italy. In fact, Etrurian inscriptions, and some of great magnitude, have been found among those ruins, which give credit to their being Etrurian buildings, as they existed in early times.

Some of these inscriptions were found by Sir William Hamilton and Mons. d'Hancarville, enchased in the very walls of the city; whence it may be inferred that the city was first adorned by the Etrurians, and that these ornaments afterwards gave place to the more recent ones of Greece*. But let us pay attention for a moment to the assertions of Winkelman, who, being one of the most celebrated antiquarians of our age, deserves particular notice. A certain contradiction is found in his sentiments, or at least a confusion arising from the desire of attributing every thing to the Greeks. He cannot, however, deny that Etruria cultivated the fine arts prior to Greece†; yet he asserts that the history of the Etrurian arts commenced with the arrival of the Pelasgi in Italy, and although they do not owe their origin entirely to the Greeks, they are at least indebted to them for their greater advancement. But what did the Pelasgi bring into Italy? Not the arts of design, for by the confession of the author, they were already in Etruria; and at the time of this supposed

* *Antiquités Etrusques*, par M. d'Hancarville.

† *Lib. 3. cap. 1. Istor. delle Arti, &c.*

emigration, Greece was less polished than Etruria; and if any one without documents would believe the contrary, how should we presume that an emigration of pirates (as we have said before) or of miserable common people obliged to abandon their own country, could bring with them improvement in arts and sciences? Are we to believe, as the author would insinuate, that before the arrival of these pirates, Etruria was in profound ignorance, and that at their appearance, coming from a country more barbarous, the cultivation of the arts should begin? These are assertions without proof, and even contradictory in themselves. The argument of this illustrious writer to sustain the opinion that the Etrurians were scholars of the Greeks, derived from the observation that Grecian history sometimes formed the subjects of their works, is of little weight; as experience shows us how often even moderns adopt a similar practice, by presenting us with the figures of Hercules, Alexander, Cyrus and Socrates.

That the Etrurians knew the facts relating to Greece rather by tradition than by written documents, may be inferred from the confusion or imperfection of their knowledge. In the Etrurian Corniola of the Museum Strasciano, representing the heroes who fought against Thebes, not seven, as the history relates, but five only, appear; nor is this the only error or variation found in Grecian history. But we can not be certain that they have not frequently expressed also their own; of the many bronzes, marbles, and painted wares that remain in our days, some are not intelligible, because they allude to unknown histories, and it is probable that in many of them Etrurian events are expressed; and, in fact, the little statue of metal, with an inscription upon the thigh and leg, which represents a child with a hang-

ing necklace, a globe in the left hand, and a bird in the right, according to Buonarroti *, is the celebrated Targetes, inventor of the art of divining. Many other bronzes contain representations of Etrurian mythology or history. Regarding mythology, it is very doubtful, according to the opinion of the learned Maffei, whether they derived it from the Greeks, or the latter rather from the Etrurians†. It is very natural to imagine that the most ancient works of these people participate of the rudeness of all arts in their infancy: observation and history teach us that they make a rapid progress, and in the ordinary course of human events, they do not require many years to bring them to a certain perfection. Cimabue, Giotto, Masaccio, are not very distant in time. It is difficult, amidst such uncertainty of documents, to assign the epochs of the progress of the Etrurian school: the three already fixed by antiquarians, and the freedom of their opinions in attributing to each the Etrurian labours that appear before them, may reasonably be doubted by those who contemplate the errors into which the judges of ancient works have fallen. To assert, when works are found that rival the Greeks, that the Etrurians have imitated the latter, adhering to the three imagined epochs, is a system‡, and the spirit of system leads often to

* Appendix ad Dempst.

† Maffei, Osserv. Letter. tom. 3. Extr. del Dempst.

‡ Winkelman, History of the Arts. Lanzi of the Sculpture of the Ancients. An example of the errors into which the spirit of system leads us is to be found in a passage of Horace quoted by the latter. The small Etrurian statues are placed by that poet among the most precious monuments: *Signa marmor, ebur Tyrrhena sigilla, &c.* The antiquarian asserts that the poet alludes to those works which belong to the third epoch; otherwise, instead of Tyrrhene, he would have used the word *Tuscanica*: as if poets made use of expressions either with mathematical or historical pre-

error. The modern Tuscans, through extreme affection to their country, may both esteem and attribute too much to their predecessors, and thereby deceive themselves; let us be just, and not contrast ancient Etruria with Greece in the times of Pericles and Alexander; but it must be admitted that Etruria has been the teacher and mistress of herself, and that among her few remains there are some which closely approximate to the arts of the Grecians.

We are not enabled to judge with precision to what point the arts were carried with the Etrurians, as among the ruins of antiquity only very scanty monuments remain. From simple clay*, they arrived at casting statues of beautiful bronze, as the chimera in the Royal Gallery of Florence attests†. We may instance the statue dressed in the Roman style, which in the

cision; or the word *Tyrrhena* did not raise as good an idea of antiquity as *Tuscanica*, which, moreover, is neither elegant nor poetic. The poet does not seriously assert that the Romans of his time had painters, wrestlers, and musicians, superior to the Greeks.

. pingimus atque
Psallimus, et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.

The proposition was advanced as an absurdity, as appears by the verse which precedes it:

Nihil intra est olea, nihil extra est in nuce duri.

It never could have occurred to the minds of the Romans to contend in those arts with the Greeks, as Virgil, who wrote in the same time, asserts:

*Exudent alii spirantia mollius æra.
Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus, &c.*

* Almost all nations have begun to give form to clay, and in nearly all the ancient languages, sculpture and pottery are synonymous:

Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.—OVID.

† It was found at Arezzo in excavating the foundations of the fortress.

border of the drapery has Etrurian characters engraved ; the little statue of Hercules, with the skin of a lion twisted round the left arm * ; the Pallas of natural size, and particularly the statue found at Pesaro upon the shore of the Adriatic, which represents a young man, and which Winkelman asserts to be one of the finest bronze statues handed down to us by the ancients †, although he doubts its being of Etrurian origin. It may be noted that the inscriptions are never in the base, or on the pedestal, but upon the statue itself, which is a proof of antiquity.

Neither the Grecians nor Romans made use of this custom, but prior nations ; and Herodotus asserts that the very ancient image of Sesostris, which he had seen, had the inscription upon it ; the writing also runs from right to left, another sign of remote antiquity. They cast with great ability in copper ; their pieces of money were cast, and many of them are to be seen with a three-fronted Janus on one side, and on the other often a dolphin and a club, sometimes a frog and an anchor ; points or little globes are also to be seen on them, which probably indicated their value ‡. They engraved also excellently, as some Etrurian goblets handsomely worked testify ; and we perceive from various cameos and deep incisions in hard stone how greatly this art was perfected among them. If we have no Etrurian works to confront the stupendous productions of Phidias and Praxiteles, we have still some that approach them : the Diana in the museum of Herculaneum is among the latter ; and Winkelman, who is no friend of ancient and modern Etruria, confesses that this statue,

* Winkelman, tom. 2. lib. 7. cap. 2.

† Tom. 1. lib. 3. c. 2.

‡ Buonarroti Appen. ad Dempst. § 38.

in some parts, is worked with so much mastership, that finer feet are not to be discovered in the best Grecian figures*. The representation of Tydeus, in the Strozian museum, shews the force of expression that the Etrurians employed in their works. This hero is engraved naked, in the act of taking out an arrow from his leg: the care and attention with which the muscles are expressed, indicate to what degree of perfection the art had arrived, and how well anatomy, its indispensable companion, was understood. It is not to be denied that sometimes laboured gestures and attitudes are discovered, defects into which those fall also in literature (as all productions of taste resemble each other) who possess the wish, without the power, of executing a strong and expressive style. The Capitoline bas relief†, which represents Mercury in company with Apollo and Diana, is of this style; the forced position of the fingers of Mercury shew this defect; but the opinion that this faulty style is generally that of the ancient and modern Tuscans, is equally false and unjust. It is certain that the arts imitative of nature arrive at perfection by long exercise; and it is well known how greatly the Etrurians laboured in them, as from the single city of Bolsena, when subjugated by Marcus Flavius Flaccus, not less than two thousand statues were transported to Rome‡.

From this history we learn the great labour bestowed upon sculpture by the Etrurians, and which with an ingenious people soon leads to perfection. From their statues in the Florentine Gallery, we draw the wonderful art of the Etrurians in melting and casting, as these

* Lib. 3. c. 2.

† The print of it is seen in front of Winkelman's work, *Storia*, &c.

‡ Plin. lib. 34.

are all of one piece, of excellent metal, and hollow within, whilst the ancient Greeks, according to Pausanias, formed them of plates of metal only roughly worked*. The chef-d'œuvres of the Etruscans having probably perished, we can ill judge of their merit in the fine arts from the scarce documents that remain, either injured or destroyed by time. We know, however, that in Rome their works have excited wonder: the colossal Apollo of bronze, fifty feet high, placed by Augustus in the library of the Temple, called forth the admiration of Pliny†, who probably had the greatest knowledge and the finest taste of his age—an age the most celebrated for the study of the fine arts in Italy. A statue of so enormous a size, attracting by its beautiful proportions the admiration of Pliny, proves the perfection of the art in the nation by which it was cast. Winkelman, who has pretended that in the fine arts the Etrurians never surpassed mediocrity, has also hazarded an indication of the reasons. “It appears,” he says, “that the Etrurians more than the Grecians were inclined to melancholy and sadness, as we may infer from their religious worship and customs; and we are to observe too, that to a man gifted with such a temperament, adapted certainly to more profound studies, the sensations are felt too deeply and acutely; for which reason that soft emotion is not produced in his senses which renders the spirit perfectly susceptible of the beautiful.” The fallacy of such reasoning must be perfectly obvious. The acute and deep sensations are inseparably con-

* Maffei, Osserv. Letter. Tom. 3. Estratt. del Dempst.

† Lib. 24. c. 7. “Videmus certe Apollinem in Bibliotheca templi Augusti Tuscanicum L. pedum à pollice; dubium ære mirabiliorem an pulchritudine.” Using the word ‘Tuscanicum,’ Lanzi will not doubt that the ancient Etrurians are meant.

nected with a lively imagination, the first origin of the fine arts; and the more deeply and acutely are stamped in it the images of external objects, so much better is it adapted to describe them in the arts of imitation. Melancholy religious compassion has not hindered the birth and unfolding of the fine arts; the chef-d'œuvres which adorn the Vatican consist of the Transfiguration, the Madonna della Seggiola, Michael the Archangel, the Moses of S. Pietro in Vinculis, &c. The French nation, probably more gay, spirited, and addicted to pleasure than any other nation of Europe, although in letters it has produced so many excellent works, is far from having arrived in the fine arts at that point when Rome raised itself again under Leo. Winkelman, from a just veneration for the Grecians, became enthusiastic in their favour. Enthusiasm is calculated to stimulate artists and writers in their career, but highly dangerous when we wish to form a correct judgment; and its influence is often found in the opinions of this writer, and particularly in his observations upon the Etrurian artists. After having severely censured the ancients, he has had the courage to evince the same opinion upon the modern Etrurians. He had first asserted, that of the Etrurian artists the same might be said as Pindar said of Vulcan, that he was born without the Graces*: he then adds—"These characters of the art, with the ancient inhabitants of Etruria, are to be discovered even now in the works of their successors, and an impartial eye will readily discover them in the designs of Michael Angelo, the greatest artist that the Etrurians have had; nor is it to be denied that this character is one of the defects of Daniel of Volterra, Peter of Cortona," &c. The autho-

* Storia delle Arti del Disegno, lib. 3. cap. 3.

city and reputation of this writer does not admit of silence. After the new birth of the arts, Tuscany, to which country we are indebted for it, produced innumerable artists, who highly distinguished themselves in all the various branches, and regulated the different styles; and if Michael Angelo and Leonardo da Vinci have surpassed them all in sublimity of imagination and vivacity of expression, an Andrea del Sarto, a Jacopo da Pontormo and others, have not been wanting to show that the graceful and delicate style is not foreign to Tuscany. That among the various styles, the sublime, the strong, the expressive style has been the ruling one of the modern Tuscans, we will readily concede; as this, instead of being a reproach, is the greatest eulogium that can be passed upon them. And in truth, where is the poet that would not rather aspire to the sublimity of Homer than the tender softness of Anacreon? Respecting other styles there may be disputes among artists; but the grand, the sublime, that Michael Angelo has expressed in the Capella Sistina finds nothing to oppose it: the colossal statue of Moses is regarded with the same admiration as the most renowned ancient works: we see therein sublimity and grandeur of expression, united to modesty and natural repose of the members, which forms the height of perfection. But how can so much wrong be done to the Tuscan artists, as to compare them to the rude and rustic Vulcan born without the Graces? Who since the new birth of the arts has been the master of grace? Do not all acknowledge him in Leonardo da Vinci? Has he not surpassed even Raphael himself, who learnt so much from him? We may appeal to the judgment of the impartial reader, and to those connoisseurs who judge according to their good understanding, and not by the authority of celebrated names.

But to turn from this short digression, solidity of style was the characteristic of Tuscan architecture; a fact which is sufficiently known. Inferior to the other orders in lightness and delicacy, in larger columns, in cornices without frieze, it evinces a noble simplicity, added to the stability of the edifice, a merit, which if not the only one, is at least the first in architecture. It appears that when the first men, leaving their rude roofs of straw, resorted to solid materials, they began to adopt the Tuscan mode of building, as one of the fathers of architecture asserted*. The ancient cottages were naturally more elegant than their early dwellings, built with the trunks of trees in the extremity of the façade, united in the upper part by another oblique trunk, which sustained the roof of straw or of boards. The building afterwards extending itself, instead of two trees four became necessary; and when they proceeded to the use of stone materials, they naturally substituted columns for trees: and thus is delineated the birth of the Etrurian order. Of the magnificence and grandeur of the Etrurian buildings, nothing remains but the testimony of an ancient writer: the sepulchre of Porsenna at Chiusi alone, as described by Pliny, give us some idea of the splendour of their edifices. The sepulchre was of large quadrate stones, and surrounded by four sides or walls, each of which extended 300 feet in length, and 50 in height; in the internal area of 9,000 feet was an inextricable labyrinth, the remains of which are pretended to be shewn in some crooked caverns of the town of Chiusi, notwithstanding both Pliny and Varro state that it was outside the city. Upon the vast quadrangle were raised five pyramids, four in the

* Palladio Architt. cap. 14.

corners and one in the middle, seventy-five feet broad at the base, and one hundred and fifty high. At the top of these stood a large globe of bronze; from this hung various chains, to which were attached moveable bells, which rung when agitated by the wind: upon the top of the great pyramids smaller ones were raised, and upon these, others; but Varro, moved by the improbability of the height of these pyramids, and by their disposition, was ashamed, as Plato says, to speak largely of them. It is added, that of this exterminated building no vestige remained in the days of Pliny, that is, about 600 years after Porsenna; nevertheless Rome exhibits remains of ancient buildings in many places that count more than 1,600 years. The pyramidal figure is adapted to preserve an edifice still more. No vestige remained of these famous ruins in Chiusi in the days of Pliny, whilst after so many ages the pyramid of Caius Cestius in Rome remains nearly entire. This shows us the improbability of the statements respecting this great monument.

That Etruria was anterior to Greece in the art of painting may be inferred from many facts, which the learned Tiraboschi has ingeniously collected*. Pliny assures us that in the days of Troy this art was not yet invented†; and in the two great poems of Homer, wherein both sculpture and engraving are so often described, no mention is made of painting. Pliny, speaking of his own times, alludes to Etrurian paintings in Ardea, more ancient than those of Rome, and assigns an equal degree of antiquity to those of the Ceri and Lanuvium‡, in the latter of which the naked representations of Helen and Atlas attracted the attention of Pontius, legate of the

* Stor. della Letter. Ital. tom. 1.

† Lib. 35. cap. 4.

‡ Plin. lib. 35.

emperor Caligula, who contemplated their removal, had the nature of the edifice favoured his intention. The stability of their colouring has handed down many of these paintings even to our own age: they were found in the excavated sepulchres at the ancient Tarquinii, near Corneto. These sepulchres are cut out of the ground; we descend to them by a cavity of a conical figure, that widens from the aperture to the bottom; and the roofs and walls are adorned with paintings*. It is known that the most ancient pictures were formed only of a single colour, called therefore *monocromatiche*, drawn with simple lines. Of this kind are the paintings of the Etrurians, formed with whitish contours upon a plaster or cement of a dark ground; the greater part of these pictures represent battles: in one, Winkelman thinks that the doctrine of the Etrurians upon the state of the soul after death is symbolized. "To this," says he, "are assigned two black Genii, who are represented as drawing a car, in which the image of the soul of the deceased is supposed to be deposited, while two other Genii are beating with long hammers upon a naked figure of a man fallen to the ground." This singular interpretation opens a vast but obscure field to metaphysicians.

Whether the Etrurians painted with various colours is not known; we find, however, that they sometimes painted their statues, and of this kind we have still the fine Diana of the Herculanean Museum, of which we have already spoken. It is easy to imagine that much expression could not be given to figures lined with a single colour, nevertheless in them we can sometimes discern the boldness of the hand and the correctness of the design.

* Winkel. Storia. delle Art. lib. 3. cap. 2.

One of the most celebrated and elegant manufactures of Etruria were the vases of baked earth, called *Etruscan vases*. The distance of time, and the rarity of these productions, have given rise to many disputes. The learned Buonarroti, Gori, and Guarnacci have thought them an ancient Etrurian work. Maffei, Winkelman, and others, are of opinion that they were produced from Campania, Sicily, and various towns of Magna Grecia. The arguments of Buonarroti to prove them Etrurian are the following: the authority of ancient writers who often speak of Etruscan vases; the similarity between various figures expressed in these vases and those cut upon Etrurian cups of bronze used in sacrifices; the figures of fauns with horses' tails, whilst the Greeks painted them like those of a goat; the figure of a certain bird unknown to Pliny, the great naturalist, and who asserts it to have been found painted in the books of the Etrurian diviners; the crowns, the vases in the hand of Bacchus, the musical instruments, &c., all show them to be Etrurian, as they are not found in the works of the Grecians. Winkelman discovers some weight in these arguments, and then replies with his accustomed manner of reasoning: 1st., that the elegance of these vases, and the correctness of the design, are such as do not belong to the Etrurians; 2dly., that the quantity found in Sicily, in Campania, &c., and the scarcity in Tuscany, prove that in the former countries, rather than in the latter, they were worked. Let us revert to history on this point. Tarquinius Priscus, desirous of erecting the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus, selected the artist Turrianus of Flegelle, one of the most ancient towns of Etruria.* The art of making statues from chalk continued in every age,

* Pliny, lib. 35. cap. 12.

but particularly the small Etrurian statues, or *Tyrrhena sigilla*, were very much in esteem in the days of Horace*. To this kind the small statue of chalk possessed by Tiberius belonged, which was so singularly expressive as to cause the poet to say that Prometheus, amusing himself, had formed it:

Ebrius hac fecit terris puto monstra Prometheus
Saturnalitio lusit et ipse luto.

Nor of less ingenuity is the other of which Martial says,

Sum fragilis, sed tu, moneo, ne sperne sigillum :
Non pudet Alcidem nomen habere meum.

These little Etrurian statues being so celebrated, it may be said that the vases of chalk which were correctly called *sigillati* (or *istoriati*), painted with figures, were also of Etrurian workmanship; and that the Etrurians, particularly the Aretines, worked elegant vases of earth, worthy of the tables of monarchs, we infer from various passages of the classics, and particularly from Martial:

Aretina nimis ne spernas vasa monemus ;
Lautus erat Tuscis Porsena fictilibus.

From the most remote antiquity to the times of Pliny the art maintained itself in Etruria; and that writer asserts that the most noble and elegant vases of chalk were in his days those of Samos, Saguntum, Pergamos, and Arretium†. In the distich attributed to Virgil‡, and the verses of Persius§, Etruscan vases, and particularly those of Arretium, are spoken of. For many ages we

* Epist. 2. lib. 2. † Plin. 35, cap. 12.

‡ "Arretine calicis mensis decorate paternis
Ante manus medici quam bene sanus eras."

§ Sat. 1. c. 2.

have certain testimony of the conservation of this art in Etruria; it flourished there before the Grecians had made any progress in the fine arts. The many vases excavated in the vicinity of Volterra, Cortona, Arezzo, Populonia, and Corneto, preserved in various museums, and that which we shall make known from the excavations in Arezzo, sufficiently destroy the second objection of Winkelman. It is true that the manufacture of some of them is rude, but others are found of exquisite workmanship. In order to form a just conception of the quantity of fine vases found in Arezzo, it is necessary to refer to the account of some ancient writers, whose works remain unpublished. The first is S. Ristoro d' Arezzo, who lived about the middle of the thirteenth century*: it may be permitted to us to refer to a fragment of this writer, in order that we may better understand, in his rude native expressions, the feeling which the sight of the vases then excavated made upon him and his contemporary observers. "The vases," says he, "were formed of glued earth, fine as wax, and of perfect form . . . in which vases were designed and cut all the generations of plants, leaves, and flowers, and all the generations of animals that can be thought of . . . and they made them of two colours, as blue and red, but more red, which colours were bright and fine, not having body: these colours were so perfect, that remaining under ground, it appeared that the earth could not spoil

* The manuscript was found in the library of the late Suddeano Riccardi: it is entitled "Incominciarsi il libro della compositione del mondo . . . composta da Ristoro d' Arezzo," &c. "The author has dated his manuscript 1282, whence it may be concluded that he lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. Gori has published a fragment which particularly refers to the Aretine vases.

them. When they dug by some chance within our city, and in the neighbourhood without it, nearly two thousand were found, and many of them appeared as if just made in some was found engraved a lean image, in another a fat one; some laughing, some crying, some dead, some alive, some old, some young, some naked, some dressed, some armed, some disarmed, some on foot, some on horseback; and there were found in them fights and battles wonderfully represented they were found cut and designed so wonderfully that the years were known, and time both clear and obscure, and if the figure was distant or near, and every variation of mountain, of valley, of river, of wood, &c.; there were found spirits flying through the air in shapes of naked boys, and attached to them every diversity of poem," &c. This writer afterwards dilates upon the wonder they excited in the observers, who, he says, scarcely thought them human work. Although he lived in a rude age, the stupor, the ecstasy, the confusion that he discovers, and which he relates to have arisen also in others at the contemplation of the vases, are such as to lead one to believe that the workmanship was very elegant; and from the battles and other pictures we easily infer them to be of Tuscan hands. The second writer is celebrated and very well known, viz., Giovanni Villani, who states "*that in Arezzo anciently were made, by very fine masters, red vases with different engravings, and of so fine an engraving, that looking at them they appeared impossible to be of human workmanship; and we still find them: and certainly too we still say that the situation and air of Arezzo produce very subtle men.*" The third lived in the time of the splendour of the fine arts under Leo. X., viz., Attilio Alessi, the Aretine, in whose manuscript history we read the following passage: "*Besides*

*the aforesaid things, the Aretine vases evince wonderful antiquity, so fine and of so surprising a lustre, that they were compared to vases of crystal; and of this I myself bear witness, who found one of them near the banks of the river Castro, distant from the city 1000 paces, in the form of a tumbler-glass, and of so fine and resplendent appearance, that it surpassed any kind of glass. . . . there were found a great quantity with letters in the bottom of each vase, and at times was present, when the grottos were cut into, Messer Giovanni de' Medici, who was afterwards Pope Leo. X.; and in some was seen a battle of birds, a hunt with lions, dogs, horses, chariots, and even the gods, as Bacchus, Jupiter Ammon, figured with wonderful industry and art. . . . found on the banks of the said river near the bridge Carciarelle *, in the year 1492, the aforesaid Giovanni then Cardinal being present, and they are often found in the foundations, when houses are built."* The elegance of the vases here spoken of can no longer be doubted, since so learned and polished a man, who lived in the times of the greatest taste for the arts, bears testimony to the fact: but to finish the history of the pottery of this city, we shall refer to an extract of ingenious fragments of unprinted writings upon the Aretine pottery, by a learned man of Arezzo, lately deceased, Mr. Auditor Francesco Rossi, who has done honour to letters, to his country, and to jurisprudence, who has filled important situations, and by his modesty has concealed many of the merits with which he was adorned†. The Aretine territory having been,

* Here was one of the manufactories of these vases, as Auditor Rossi has proved to us, of whom we shall shortly make mention.

† The politeness of the heirs, and particularly of Mr. Fulvio Rossi, the worthy brother of the author, has permitted me to gather the knowledge here inserted, and to publish it.

for many ages, celebrated for its vases, he has sought for the spots in which the manufactories were established; three of which he has found within the city, and eight at least in the neighbourhood: he has occupied himself with the examination of two of these, situated near each other in a place anciently called Centumcellæ, now corrupted into Cincelli * situated at the west of Arretium, distant therefrom six miles, not far from the Castle of Rondine, where a villa of the author afforded him leisure to employ so learnedly the autumnal holidays. Not only has he found there numberless fragments of very fine vases, but even the remains of the furnaces, the troughs (*trogoli*) and the utensils to make them. From the remains of the manufactory and the positions of these vessels still remaining, he has been able to deduce the manner of fabricating the Aretine vases. According to his observations, the chalk, which was very fine and light, and preserves still these qualities, was extracted from the ground situated under the manufactory. Being previously worked with the hands, it was thrown into tubs full of water, where the finest part of it dissolved itself: this turbid water, impregnated with the finest part of the chalk, was poured into another tub, where (to use a chemical term) it was decanted (*decantava*,) reducing itself into an impalpable substance, and with this the finest Aretine vases were formed. Such chalk is still almost of the colour of dark ground, and when it is boiled takes a lively red. The furnaces of a quadrate figure are still seen, formed of very small bricks, the length of which is one-fourth of an arm by one-eighth of breadth. The vases are painted with animals, hunts, &c., embellished

* That Cincelli was called Centumcellæ is inferred from a paper of the Monastery of S. Flora and Lucilla of the Cassinesi, noted by Aleotti, and published by Camici.

with very beautiful ornaments *. They were made also with moulds, and two pair of these of a chalky substance have been found still in good preservation. From the remains of these moulds, even after so many ages, we find that in using them oil was employed, in order that the chalk might more easily separate. The refined chalk being put into the moulds, the vase was drawn off, and afterwards brought to perfection upon the wheel. As he found around the furnaces various fragments of baked vases without varnish, he thinks that the latter was applied after the first slight baking, which is also the opinion of Winkelman and Fea †. The colour of the Cincelli vases is for the most part of a coral red; there are however those of the colour of a peach blossom, others black, and some of the colour of steel; he has never found the azure seen by Ristoro. Although this diligent investigator has never had the fortune to find entire vases, he has nevertheless discovered fragments so large as to give us an idea of them when entire; they are extremely light and fine, equal to any Campanian or Sicilian, or those thought such. The great learning of the ingenious and intelligent antiquarian leaves us in no doubt respecting them, and many of these large fragments are still existing to testify to whomsoever might wish to make a comparison.

After this short history of Etruscan vases, let us draw some consequences which appear to us inevitable. From undoubted documents and the testimony of the most respectable ancient writers, it is inferred that in Etruria, and particularly in Arretium, vases of chalk were manufactured since the most remote times, and before the arts began to be cultivated in Greece; that this art was continued

* He has caused drawings of them to be made.

† See the notes to the work of Winkelman, tom. 1. cap. 4.

there and was in great renown in the days of Pliny; that the Aretine vases were very fine and highly elegant;—the glory of this art therefore belongs to Etruria, and it can only be doubted whether they made them in Magna Grecia; and even if this is granted, it may still be said with great probability, that that country took the art from the Etrurians, as the latter cultivated it before the fine arts were known in either one or the other Greece. We have no other foundation for believing in the existence of potteries in Magna Grecia than the great abundance of vases found there, and the Grecian inscriptions sometimes stamped upon them. But the porcelain of China, of which Holland is full, the English vases of Terra Delfa scattered through all Europe, are they to be a sufficient proof to ignorant posterity that they were made where they might be found? Might not the ancient vases have been transported in the same form from the principal manufactories of Etruria to Campania and Sicily? And might not the opulent inhabitants of these countries have ordered the manufacturers to affix to them whatever inscriptions they pleased, as in our days even the arms of families are impressed upon porcelain, or upon utensils of any kind sent into distant countries? They have maintained themselves in better preservation there from having been more prized, whilst at the source they were probably held in less repute. These are only conjectures against the manufactures of Magna Grecia; but the universal silence of ancient writers is something more than conjecture. These speak only through Italy of Etruscan and Aretine vases. Pliny, among the rest, who has not left unmentioned any country celebrated for arts and manufactures, who has reminded us of the potteries of Arretium, Saguntum, Samos, and Pergamus, speaks only of cups fabricated in Sor-

rento*. What more fit opportunity could there be to speak of the pottery and the vases of Campania and Sicily? This silence of Pliny and all other ancient writers can hardly be explained; and we are informed by Horace that the works in chalk of Campania were very coarse†. The last resource of Winkelman and his followers to diminish the glory of the Etrurian art, will be, that (granting the extreme fineness of the Aretine vases, which cannot be denied,) the Etrurian art was brought to perfection in the third epoch, when they had learnt it from the Greeks. On these arbitrary epochs we have already made our observations, and will dispute no further. But it will be always true that the primary art was Etrurian, and continued from the most remote times down to the age of Pliny. That the Etrurians of the lower ages, and as Winkelman calls them, of the third epoch, have learnt it from the Greeks, may be partially correct, but certain proofs thereof are always wanting; for to assert that in this epoch we find the Grecian style in the Etrurian works, is saying much, and a great proof with some antiquarians and a flock of dilettanti who blindly follow them; while it affords no proof to those who examine without partiality, and judge according to the dictates of reason, and not from the authority of

* “Retinet hanc nobilitatem et Arretium in Italiâ, et calicum tantum Surrentum.” Lib. 35, cap. 12.

† Horat. lib. 1. Sat. 6.

“Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet, astat echinus

“Vilis cum patera guttus campana supellex.”

To prove that chalk was worked in Sicily, Winkelman has only found a passage of Diodorus Siculus, in which it is said that the father of Agathocles was a potter; and another of Ateneus, in which *patellæ siculæ* are mentioned, as if where earthen pots and pans were made, it should be a proof that porcelain was also worked.

celebrated names *. Alluding to certain ancient coins which have Etrurian inscriptions, Winkelman reasons thus: "Whilst the writing testifies that the Campanians have received it from the Etrurians, from the figure which is not at all according to Etrurian art, it may be inferred that they have imitated the design from the Greeks." We might have greater faith in this manner of reasoning if the enormous mistakes were not known to us, which are made in judging both of the Grecian manner and of the various styles by the most celebrated artists; errors from which Raphael d'Urbino, Giulio Romano, &c., have not been wholly exempted †. And, in fact, what is the manner that they call Grecian? it is that which most approaches perfection, and that which is called beautiful. Cannot a nation that cultivates with ardour the fine arts, arrive finally at perfection without the aid of foreign precepts? Could not the Italians, in the country called Magna Grecia, have done so? and, little distant from it, might not also Etruria, who so long and with so much ardour cultivated the fine arts? Let us leave prejudices, and judge by our senses. In the dispute upon Etruscan vases, foreigners render us justice. The English have imitated the Etruscan vases, and Wedgwood has given the name of Etruria to the place where his celebrated manufactory is established. We

* Upon the blind and servile deference which is generally paid to the connoisseurs of fine arts, d'Alembert quotes the following anecdote: A person reasoning justly upon the beauty and defects of a picture of Raphael, a painter who overheard him said: "Tout ce que M. dit est vrai, mais c'est qu'on n'a pas coutume de dire cela." He adds, that the errors or the prejudices were compared by the Abbé St. Pierre to the pills that are swallowed without chewing, otherwise they would not be swallowed."—D'ALEMBERT, *Elog. de l'Abbé de St. Pierre.*

† Vasari, vita di Buonarroti.

will conclude with a short comparison between the luxury of the ancients and moderns. We make use of the finest porcelain, the white ground of which adds greatly to its beauty and ornaments; the latter, however, are awkward, the figures badly designed, or injured by the baking, nor are they ever to be compared to those of the Etruscan vases, the design of which Winkelman compares to that of Raphael. The luxury of the Etrurians is sufficiently celebrated; it is known, however, little more than by this general reputation, but their imitators, the Romans, after they had abandoned their native simplicity and poverty, and despoiled the provinces of the East, gave themselves up to a degree of luxury, to which the moderns have never arrived. Their palaces surpassed in grandeur the most splendid of succeeding ages, even without quoting as an example the golden house of Nero; the gates, often of Numidian marble, the doors inlaid with tortoise-shell*, the walls of the rooms incrustated with the most rare marbles, covered with rich furniture and carpets; gilded beams with gems enchased in them†, and fountains in the rooms; pavements of excellent Mosaic, often representing interesting histories, and the Etruscan vases as a finish to the ornaments. The buildings were very lofty, and at the top was a hanging garden, of rare and expensive plants; the entrance was sometimes flanked by a wood of columns; that of the villa of the Gordiani has two hundred of the finest Numidian marble‡. The profusion of jewels and pearls, worn by the women, can hardly be expressed: after having covered the head, the locks of hair, the neck, ears, fingers, and

* “. . . inhiant testudine postes.—VIRG. *Georg. lib. 2.*

† “Vidi artes veterumque manus verisque metalla

Viva modis, labor est auri numerare figuras

Aut ebur, aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas.”—STATIUS.

‡ Capital. in Gord.

arms, they attached a great number to their shoes*; and the celebrated Lollia Paulina, on every public occasion carried no less upon her than the value of four millions of French francs†. The cost of their suppers exceeds imagination; the tables most appreciated (although many were made of silver and ivory,) were of knotty cedar, stained like a leopard, the feet of silver or of onyx‡: the vases were for the most part of silver, (it having been ordered by Tiberius that the golden ones should serve only for sacrifices,) were covered with jewels§; they are still called vases of entire gems||. The luxury displayed in their servants at the suppers, was such, that they were all nearly of the same age, of the same quality and colour of hair¶. The expense of the suppers of Lucullus, Apicius, and Vitellius, will scarcely be believed. The fish, of which they were so greedy, were seen alive at the tables before cooking them; and for this purpose there were reservoirs beneath**. This is only a very small example of the luxury of the Romans, which was in truth extravagant; but it was necessary to expend in some manner the immense sums which flowed into Rome from a conquered world. Her citizens, not con-

* “Neque enim gestare margaritas nisi calcant et per uniones ambulent satis est.”—Plin. lib. 9. cap. 56.

† Vide Plin. loc. cit. e le note dell’Arduino.

‡ Mersio describes some that cost 50,000 florins.

§ “Turba gemmarum potamus et smaragdis teximus calices.—Plin. in præ. l. 33.

|| *Pacat in padeq.* “Parum se lautas putabant, nisi æstivam in gemmis capacibus glaciem falerna fregissent,” and more positively Cicero, ver. 6.; “Erat illi vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi trulla excavata cum manubrio aureo.” Probably some hard stone, of the finest and most rare quality, is here meant.

¶ Senec. Epist. 95.

** It was said that the fish should be fresh enough to have the taste of the sea.

tent with the spoils of the East, with the immense tributes drawn from the provinces, had acquired immense possessions; under Nero, according to the testimony of Pliny, six Roman citizens possessed the whole territory of Africa subjected to the Romans*.

After the Egyptians, the Etrurians have been the most superstitious people upon earth. Before condemning them, however, it will be necessary to know them better, in order to decide whether their superstitions were not probably useful political laws. Among nations ignorant of the true religion, the wisdom of legislators is worthy of praise, who have made it subservient to good order and public happiness. In all governments there has always been a class of persons for whom the naked truth is dangerous, and some prejudices necessary. Rome, a pupil of Etruria, furnishes us with many examples. If sometimes the Roman Senate was full of persons, who, despising the pagan theology, laughed at the pains of Tantalus and of Sisiphus†, this was far from taking away the salutary blind from the eyes of the people, who, incapable of too fine reasoning, had need of something to fix their adoration, and to which they could address their wishes, and which, by threatening an inevitable punishment to hidden crimes, might console afflicted virtue in the more desperate cases, pouring upon her, as a sweet balsam, the hope of future recompense. It is true again that the religious errors of paganism, at least for a time, did not give rise to divisions and holy wars in Italy; Rome was ready to give citizenship to all foreign deities, and the Egyptian might adore quietly in Rome his crocodile, without being ridiculed or persecuted by the Roman, who, by his side,

* See Meurs de Luxu. Rom.

† Sallas. Conjur. Cat. allocuzione di Cesare.

was burning incense to Jove: and as the government held in hand and directed this dangerous instrument, acts of superstition were moderated or enlivened, and called in aid according to the public wants. The Romans, having learnt from the Etrurians their religious rites, probably learnt also their useful effects. The priesthood with the Etrurians, as often among the Greeks, was annexed to the first authorities; the place of augur was only conferred upon senatorial or consular persons: if therefore in the religion of the Etrurians we find ceremonies which appear to us ridiculous and weak, we must not immediately condemn them, because we are uncertain of the end of their institution. One of their superstitious arts was divination, the origin of which is supported by a very rude fable. The Etrurian Tages or Tagetes, son of the earth, escaped from the furrow of a plougher of Tarquinii, taught the Etrurians the art of divination*. The superficial reader will easily laugh in beholding grave magistrates read futurity in the bowels of animals, in the flight of birds, in the hunger or inappetency of fowls, nor undertake an expedition, or engage in battle without the consent of animals; but the philosopher admires the wisdom of magistrates, who with such means interpreted as they pleased, could either restrain the unseasonable ardour, or revive the courage of their soldiers. After Tagetes, who left no writing, Bacchis or Bacchides was the first to distinguish himself; Labéone too, in fifteen books, has expounded this science with much gravity. The books of the Etrurians in this kind reputed classic, and kept with sacred terror, were called Acherontic; nor did the Romans, much as they improved the other arts, ever arrive at the art of divination; whence, even in the lowest ages, we find them

* "Fatalem glebam motis aspexit in arvis."—OVID, *Cicer. lib. 2. de Divinat.*

consulting, in urgent cases, the Etrurian classics*. It must be confessed that accident has sometimes confirmed these extravagancies; the omens of the birth of Rome are well known: the ancient augurs too predicted that the Roman power would last for twelve ages; the caprice of fortune verified the whimsical prediction, and the power of Rome was extinguished exactly with the Empire of the West in the twelfth age†. The Romans, who thought themselves always inferior to their masters‡, sent annually ten sons of senators into Etruria, to learn divination; at first none, unless of noble and senatorial race, could exercise this art; it was afterwards debased, and in all the castles astrologers were found, who for a certain price imparted *good fortune*§.

One of the most important parts of this science was the observation of lightning, of thunder, and the fall of

* Tunc quis nunc Artis scripta et monumenta volutans
Voces terrificas chartes promebat Etruscis.—CLAUD.

The Emperor Julian had always with him Etrurian soothsayers. Amm. Marcell. lib. 23. cap. 5.

† This is not one of those prophecies invented frequently after the event; Varro, Censorinus, Cicero and others, speak of it many ages before its verification. It is seen, in Claudian, that Italy, alarmed at the invasion of the Goths, remembered the presage with terror:

Tum reputant annos, interreptoque volatu
Vulturis incidunt properatis sæcula metis.—CLAUD. *de Bell. Getico*.

And whilst its verification was approaching, Claudian in derision adds:

Surge, precor, veneranda parens, et certa secundis
Fide deis, humilemque metum depone senectæ,
Urbs æquæva polo, tunc demum furca sumet
Jura in te Lachessi, cum sic mutaverit axem
Fœderibus natura novis, ut flumine verso
Irriget Ægyptum Tanais meotida Nilus, &c.

‡ “Vos Tusci ac barbari auspiciorum populi Romani jus tenetis?”
Cicer. de Nat. Deor. Aul. Gell. Noc. Att. 1. c. 5.

§ Quin. Enn. ad finem lib. 1. de Divin.

thunderbolts, and the name of the nymph Bigoa, mistress of this part of divination, was as celebrated among the Etrurians as that of Franklin among modern philosophers. This thunder and lightning science of the Etrurians may certainly appear to us ridiculous; but Seneca, who admires its wisdom, unveils to us the mysteries hidden under it—mysteries which taught mankind the most useful moral lesson. By placing in the right hand of the great deity an arm ready to fall upon the head of the wicked, they endeavoured to restrain those who only follow virtue through fear of punishment*. The moral precepts of this science still more ennoble it when other circumstances are developed. The thunders that Jupiter sends forth of his own will are innocent, and adapted only to frighten the wicked; the prejudicial and destructive are thrown only by the counsel of the other deities. And did those wise men believe that the supreme ruler of things had want of others' counsel? No, certainly not; but under this veil they exposed an excellent doctrine, which teaches the great and the rulers of the earth not to punish without listening to the opinion of wise men †. The quoted passage of Seneca shews us a small part of the political morals of the Etrurians, hidden under a veil, which sometimes makes them appear

* Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 2. c. 24. "Ad coercendos animos imperitorum sapientissimi viri (Etrusci) indicaverunt inevitabilem metum, ut supra nos aliquid timeremus. Utile erat in tanta audacia scelerum aliquid esse, adversus quod nemo satis potens esse videretur ad coercendos taque eos, quibus innocentia nisi metu non placet, posuere supra caput judicem et quidem armatum."

† "Discant hoc ii, qui magnam potentiam inter homines adepti sunt, sine consilio nec fulmen quidem mitti: advocent, considerent multorum sententiam, placita temperent, et hoc sibi proponant ubi aliquid percuti debet, nec Jovi quidem satis suum esse consilium." Senec. Quæst. Natur. lib. 2. c. 43.

to us ridiculous ; whence it is becoming to admire, or at least respect in silence, that part which we do not understand. Besides the mysterious science of thunder and lightning, the Etrurian soothsayers interpreted the other prodigies which were thought a presage to misfortunes : their augurs prescribed a medicine for these evils * ; and if they accomplished no other good, they called the attention of the vulgar towards a being under whose vigilant eye their operations were watched, and who was ready to punish or to reward them. In our times, too, pride and ignorance have generated an opinion that extraordinary phenomena announce misfortunes : to imagine that the sun is obscured, that comets appear, and that nature puts herself in disorder to announce the death of a Cæsar or of a Charles V., becomes ridiculous enough to a philosopher, who, contemplating the immensity of nature, sees the universe prodigiously peopled with suns, among which our earth becomes so small a thing, that if by an act of omnipotence it should be annihilated, it would leave no greater void in nature than a grain of sand taken from the sea-shore. And if the earth is so small a thing, what must be its inhabitants ? Our pride becomes humbled at such a consideration, and every terror at imagined prodigies vanishes. But to return to the religion of the Etrurians ; besides Jupiter, they acknowledged twelve gods, who, *as consenters or accomplices*, were called counsellors of Jupiter, gods whom it was not lawful to mention, although names had been given to them which Ennius has comprised in two verses not very poetical :

Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Jovis, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.

* See Lucan, lib. 1, where the Tuscan Arontes,

“ *Monstra jubet primum,*” &c.

If the supper of Augustus was not probably a calumny of Antony, it would appear that he had derided or profaned the majesty of these gods: himself dressed in the garments of Apollo, it was said that the five other guests represented the other gods* and six women the goddesses. This supper, either true or false, was believed by the public, who, in the following days, (there having been a great dearth) jokingly said that the gods had devoured all the corn. Various deities, besides the above, were adored by the Etrurians, and among others the goddess Nurscia in Bolsena, in whose temple the years were numbered with nails.

It has been believed by some that the Etrurians practised the barbarous sacrifice of human victims; no writer however asserts it, and it has only been inferred from observing in the remains of their antiquities human figures in the act of being sacrificed. Such is the group of the eighty-first table of Dempster, where an old man is perceived with his knee upon a pedestal, and two persons in the act of wounding him; but probably this, like various other similar representations, is a ceremony of mitred mysteries: in these, which the Romans afterwards practised, were raised those who should be exposed to various proofs, to impress them with terror, and to the threat of death, to prove their courage. Tertullian calls them mimics of martyrdom†; and the cruel and extravagant Commodus profaned the mitred mysteries with a

* Suet. in Octav. cap. 70.

Cum primum istorum conduxit mensa Choragum,
Sexque deos vidit Manlia sexque deas,
Impia dum Phœbi Cæsar mendacia ludit,
Dum nova divorum cœnat adulteria,
Omnia se a terris tunc numina declinarunt,
Fugit et auratos Jupiter ipse thronos.

† Tertull. cap. 15. de Corona.

real homicide*. Something like it (as follies often resemble each other) has been used in the society of Free Masons: those that were initiated were exposed to like threats, to naked iron, to fire, &c †. The want of Grecian or Latin authors, who would not have omitted mentioning this cruel practice, and the easy explanation that may be given to Etrurian figures, gives us a right to absolve the Etrurian nation from a custom which has dishonoured not a few nations.

* “*Sacra mitriaca vero homicidio polluit.*” Lampred. de Commodo.

† “*Le secret des francs maçons trahi et révélé.*”

CHAPTER III.

ROMAN CITIZENSHIP GRANTED TO FOREIGNERS.—MECÆNAS.—VICOSSITUDES OF TUSCANY ON THE INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS.—SIEGE OF FLORENCE.—VALOUR OF STILICHO, AND DEATH OF RADAGASIO.—ALARIC AT ROME.—RANSOM AND PLUNDER OF THAT CITY.—REIGN OF VALENTINE.—ENTERPRISES AND DEATH OF EZIO. END OF THE EMPIRE OF THE WEST.—ODOACRES, KING OF ITALY.

IT was no misfortune for Etruria to be conquered by the Romans. The latter nation, truly great both in arms and in wisdom, united and identified with herself not Etruria alone, but by degrees the whole of Italy, and afterwards many of the conquered nations. The Italian cities were the first to obtain the rights of Roman citizenship, and the conquered partook of the splendour and glory of their conquerors. This was the wisest manner of preserving the subdued nations in fidelity and obedience; hence they became proud of the name of Roman citizen, hoping to rival the most respectable inhabitants of Rome, and felt interested in the advantages and grandeur of that government: hence too one of the causes of the rapid progress and solid establishment of the Roman empire. The weak policy of the Grecian republics, by preserving with jealous vanity the genuine blood of their ancient families, and disdaining to associate with foreigners, prevented them from acquiring that vigour by which the Roman state increased.—Sparta and Athens remained in their littleness, and after a short bright epoch, languidly declined. Rome associated to her interests great men, born even

out of her bosom, who, finding no obstacle to their arriving at the first ranks in the republic, and the command, either lent her important services, or made her illustrious by the celebrity of their names. Among the great men Rome has taken from Etruria, there is one too illustrious to be passed over in oblivion by an Etrurian. This is Cilnius Mecænas, whose family graced the city of Arretium*. Descended from royal blood, but a private personage, he surpassed the celebrity of kings his ancestors; and his name is added to the most illustrious of an illustrious nation. Augustus, Mecænas, Virgil, and Horace are mentioned almost always together, and mutually impart and receive greater lustre from their union†. The name of Mecænas, however common to the protectors of letters and of sciences, is very often badly applied. Mecænas could protect, because endowed with that taste and delicate feeling which perceives its real beauties, he knew how to appre-

* All authors in verse and in prose make him descend from the royal race of the ancient kings of Etruria, and particularly from Cilnius Mecænas, king of the Etrurians, and an Aretine who reigned in Arretium 400 years before this his celebrated descendant. (*Dempst. Hetruria Regal.*) The house of Cilnius is mentioned by many writers as respectable in Arretium in the times of ancient Etruria, as in those in which it was under the government of Rome; *T. Livius*, lib. 10. "Hetruriam rebellare ab Aretinorum motu orto nunciabatur ubi Cilnium genus præpotens," &c., then "Seditionibus Aretinorum compositis, et Cilnio genere cum plebe in gratiam reductu." *Silio Italico*, Pun. lib. 7.

Ocius accitum captivo ex agmine poscit
Progeniem ritusque ducis, dextræque labores
Cilnius Arreti tyrrhænis ortus in Oris
Clarum nomen erat, sed læva adduxerat hora
Ticini juvenem ripis, &c.

† The greatest emperor, the most powerful of his contemporaries, did not disdain to treat with familiarity the son of a libertine, and a native of the country of Mantua, viz., Horace, and Virgil.

ciate learning: without such qualities, letters cannot be usefully protected, since reward, conferred upon inferior productions, discourages more than a cold and total indifference, whence the frequent profanation of this name, and the few who resemble him. The greatest sovereigns have never rewarded the literati with so much generosity, nor have they ever honoured them as he has done. He did not disdain to place himself frequently with a few learned friends at the humble board of Horace. Without Mæcenas, too, the great songster of Æneas would probably have remained in obscurity and misery*. Augustus held him always in high esteem,

Augustus often sat among them; Horace was blear-eyed, Virgil asthmatic; whence Augustus on one occasion said, *I find myself between tears and sighs*. Neither the friendship of these great men, or their poetical effusions, have thrown upon his character a lustre which prevents our observing his cruelties, and his crooked policy, since few are those who know his defects, and almost all know the verses of those great poets; so that Ariosto has said with reason—

Non fu sì giusto, e sì benigno Augusto
Come la tuba di Virgilio suona;
L' avere avuto in poesia buon gusto
La proscrizione iniqua gli perdona.

Augustus, like Mæcenas, was also a writer endowed with an excellent genius for criticism, and capable of discerning the defects of his own works: he wrote a tragedy called Ajax, with which he was not contented, and therefore condemned it to oblivion. Being asked by his friends the reason, he replied, "*I have swallowed it.*"

* Paneg. in Pisonem.

Ipse per Ausonias Æneia carmine gentes,
Qui canit, ingenti qui nomine pulsat Olympum,
Meoniumque senem Romano provocat ore,
Forsitan illius nemoris latuisset in umbra
Quod canit, et sterili tantum cantasset avena
Ignotus populis, si Mecenate careret.—*Martial, Epigr. lib. 8. Ep. 56.*

Jugera perdiderat, &c.—*See Probus, in vita Virgillii, &c.*

In the time that Augustus, to restore his health, weakened by

and with many other respectable personages, often interposed between him and Antony, appeasing the rising jealousies of the two ambitious rivals *. In those difficult times of civil war, Augustus conferred upon Mecænas the government of Rome and Italy, and he was always a faithful and useful servant to that emperor †. Amongst all his courtiers, Mecænas appears to have been the only one who ventured boldly to tell him the truth; and Augustus too is worthy of high praise for having suffered with patience the severe and sometimes harsh reprehensions of his friend ‡. After his death, he perceived with sorrow how much he had lost, when, repentant of having propagated the shame of his house in the heat of passion, by too solemn a punishment of Julia, he asserted that if Mecænas had been alive, that honest man would have boldly told him a truth which no other man ventured to do §. If it be true,

the fatigues of body and mind in the last war with Antony, was breathing the wholesome air of Atella in Campania, Virgil, brought there by Mecænas, read to him in four days, his *Georgics*; and when the weakness of Virgil did not allow him to continue reading, Mecænas himself followed it. See *Vita Virgil.* by an anonymous author, attributed to Donatus.

* Appianus. Hor. Sat. 5. lib. 1.

Huc venturus erat Mecænas optimus, atque
Coccejus missi magni de rebus uterque
Legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.

† Tacito. Lib. 6. Annal.

‡ Augustus sitting at the tribunal, Mecænas being present, the latter perceived that Augustus, in a moment of irritation, was about to condemn many persons to death; when, not able to penetrate through the crowd that surrounded him, he wrote the words *Surge vero tandem, carnifex*, and threw the writing into the bosom of Augustus, who having read it, rose without condemning any one. Dion, lib. 50. Zonaras Ann. tom. 2. Cedrenus in histor.

§ Senec. lib. 6. de Benefic.

that, contrary to the opinion of Agrippa, he advised Augustus not to leave the empire, he saw, as a great politician, the impossibility that Rome should return to a republic; the abdication of Augustus might first awaken civil wars, and then give place to a worse succession*. He not only encouraged literary men, but entered also the list of writers both in verse and in prose; his dialogues spoken of by an ancient grammarian†, his Prometheus praised by Seneca‡, make him known to us as an elegant and judicious writer.

Seneca has preserved a verse, which shews us how much his philosophic spirit was free from those prejudices by which superstition or pride attach so much importance to the tomb§. These great qualities may induce us to excuse some small blots in his character. He was accounted effeminate, and is said to have given a name little honourable to the excessively delicate, who were subsequently called Mecænates||. But this has vanished, and the name of Mecænas has remained to denote alone the protector of literature. His style was accused too of the same softness and fastidiousness he possessed in his person, but as his works have never reached us, we can form no opinion of them. Horace and Virgil were not the only learned friends of Me-

* Dion. Xiphilin, &c. In the tragedy of *Cinna*, by P. Corneille, Cinna and Maximus, who are made by the poet to represent the parts of Mecænas and Agrippa, treat before Augustus of the question of abdication or retention of the empire with a profoundness and ingenuity worthy of the greatest author.

† Sosipater Charisius.

‡ Senec. Epis. 19.

§ Nec tumultum curo, sepelit natura relictos. Senec. Epist. 93.

|| Juven. Sat. 12.

Præcipitare volens, etiam pulcherrime, vestem
Purpuream teneris quoque Mecænatis aptam.

cænas: Propertius *, Lucius Varus †, a writer of tragedies spoken highly of by Quintilian ‡, and Domitius Marsus §, increased the number; nor was there any eminent writer in Rome, whose friendship Mecænas did not make it his glory to seek ||. As in other things, he was delicate too in his table, and amongst the exquisiteness of his viands there were some truly singular ¶. He was very unhappy during the last years of his life; a slow fever consumed him by degrees, which was accompanied by a terrible symptom, viz., the total absence of sleep, the only comfort in disease either of body or mind: neither the artificial murmur of waters nor music were able to lull him to rest **; and if the account is not exaggerated, he lived three years in this wretched state ††. He is said, however, to have been so much attached to life, that, miserable as it was, he did not like to lose it, although wasting by the most cruel torments ‡‡. He died after languishing three years, and

* Lib. 2. Eleg. 6. et alibi.

† Paneg. in Pisonem.

‡ Lib. 10. cap. 1.

§ Martial. lib. 7. Ep. 4.

|| To this list is only wanting the name of Tibullus, who probably chose to live far from the tumultuous vortex of courts, in tranquil poverty, as we learn from his verses. Eleg. 1. lib. 1.

Divitias alias, &c.

Me mea paupertas vita traducat inerti,
Dum meus exiguo luceat igne focus.

¶ Among the singular dishes may be reckoned the flesh of young asses. *Plin. lib. 8. cap. 43.* "Pullos asinarum Mecænas instituit multum eo tempore prælatos onagris."—Wild asses were in use, as a most dainty food, at the tables of the Persian kings. *Teophilac. Simocata, lib. 4. cap. 2.* Also at the present day wild asses are used for the table of the king of Persia. *Adam. Olcarius. Itiner. Pers. p. 2.* Antonio Pratense, counsellor of France, used the same food. *Joan. Brunerix de re cibaria.*

** Senec. lib. *de provid.* cap. 3.

†† Plin. lib. 7. cap. 51.

‡‡ Senec. Epist. 101.

with his last words recommended to Augustus his friend Horace*, who, desiring not to survive Mecænas, Heaven in great measure listened to his wishes; he did not outlive him more than three months†, and his remains were carried upon the Esquiline Hill, to repose by the side of those of his friend‡. The defects of Mecænas are but little blemishes, like the light stains in a fine picture, which, easily removed, the beautiful colouring remains: time has cancelled the former, and his name has been handed down as immortal§.

Tuscany, now become a part of the Roman empire, was subjected to the vicissitudes of this great body. An inconsiderable portion of the immense whole, she is for a time hardly noticed in history, and begins to emerge from obscurity when the greater part of the Italian cities became republics, that is, after the middle of the twelfth century. Through this space of time great revolutions took place. From the ruin of the Roman empire, a series of the greatest misfortunes began throughout Italy under the government of the barbarians, from which she never recovered but with the extinction of their power. Although the history on which we are employed, does not refer to the time when Etruria, miserable and oppressed, as all the other provinces of Italy, is only rarely mentioned, and for the most part but for some misfortune, there are nevertheless in these eleven centuries some events which preceded its more regular government, too important to be omitted. Of these therefore we shall exhibit a short

* Suet. in vita Horatii, "Horatii Flacci, ut mei memor esto."

† Dion. lib. 50.

‡ Suet. in Horat. vita.

§ A *Tuscan* may hope for pardon on account of this digression.

picture before we come to her particular history : such as the ruin of the empire of the west, the kingdom of the Goths, its destruction, the establishment of the Longobardi, the ruin again of these, and the rise of the new empire of the west under Charles the Great, which, however, did not bring along with it a greater degree of tranquillity to this distracted country.

The civil convulsions over, by which republics are usually extinguished, and the sovereignty established, a considerable interval ensued in which the numerous population of that vast dominion lived in perfect tranquillity. An illustrious modern author* has asserted, with much probability, that if we were to seek in the annals of the human race for an epoch, when the largest portion of mankind lived the most happily†, it would be necessary to refer to the early times of the Roman empire, shortly after its establishment. Its confines were defended by legions, and by the terror of the Roman arms, and consequently respected by the barbarians: these legions, kept in awe by the wisdom of the government, had not yet discovered the secret of being arbiters of the empire; the culture of the mind, and the social arts, had been communicated by the conquerors to the conquered; the laws were wise: and although the overbearing will of the governors might violate them, it could not take place too often, nor could any too manifest injustice be indulged, as in the east; for a polished nation feels more acutely, and more readily finds the means of making its grievances known to the throne. For nearly a century the empire was governed by a succession of wise and virtuous emperors, and Nerva,

* Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall, &c.

† The Roman Empire did not contain less than 120,000,000 of inhabitants.

Trajan, Adrian, and the two Antonines are still mentioned amongst the greatest benefactors of the human race. Even when the government was in the hands of a Tiberius, a Caligula, a Nero, the mass of Roman subjects enjoyed the advantages of wise laws; and the cruelty and folly of these monsters extended only to some individuals, who by their birth and offices enjoyed the too dangerous honour of approaching too near their master. But these times of calm and of happiness introduced insensibly into the empire the seeds of its ruin, which were unobservedly but gradually growing ripe. The barbarous nations, superior to the Romans in physical force, and equal to them in courage, had been subjugated by the superiority of military art, which being relaxed amongst the Romans, whilst it was coming to perfection with the barbarians, the effeminacy of the former made them regard the condition of arms as laborious, which was easily conceded to foreigners whom the emperors, hoping rather for support from them than from the natives, very willingly enlisted in their legions. These dangerous auxiliaries made themselves acquainted with all the finesse of Roman tactics, and communicated it to their countrymen: whilst the latter were training themselves more and more to the art of war, the former were becoming enervated, so much so that, in the times of the emperor Gratian, they laid aside even their iron armour as an unnecessary burden*. The dangerous secret of the Roman weakness being discovered, it was no longer difficult for these nations, invited by the softness of the climate, by riches and their attendants, to attack the Roman empire with success; nevertheless an empire so powerful, and which

* Vegetius, de Re Milit.

had taken such deep roots, resisted, as it were, with its sluggish power, for a considerable time. The ancient Latin valour, roused by misfortunes, awakened again at times in the breasts of the emperors and of the brave leaders, and in the campaigns of Italy, of France, and of Greece, innumerable hosts of barbarians often remained victims of their mad ferocity. The Roman empire did not fall until after many repeated attacks, and contended for ages, even in its weakness, against multiplied enemies. One of these events is worthy of being mentioned in the History of Tuscany as very glorious for the city of Florence. The sons of Theodosius had divided the empire: Honorius governed that of the west, a prince weak in character as in temper, without vice and without virtue. The west, therefore, was governed in his name by Stilicho, who may be reckoned one of the last Roman generals: full of ambition, of courage, and perhaps the only support of the now falling empire, he justified the choice of Theodosius by his actions, who, giving him in marriage his adopted daughter Serena, and thus drawing him near the throne, had interested him in its defence, the ties of which were moreover increased by the union of the daughter of Stilicho with the Emperor himself. This hero had already sufficiently distinguished himself against the Goths, led on by Alaric, whom he had first reduced to extremities in Greece and in the woods of Arcadia*, and afterwards repeatedly defeated in Italy in the bloody battles of Pollentia and Verona†. After a short repose,

* Zosimus, lib. 5. Claud. de Bello Getico.

† “ Sigon. de Regno Italiæ. Murat. Ann. D’ Ital.” “ *Claud. de bello Getico: the remains of Pollentia are seen twenty-five miles S. C. of Turin.*” “ Cluver. Ital. Antiq.

Italy was inundated by an immense horde of barbarians, who, moving from the northern parts of Germany, came in search either of an establishment, or of plunder.—(This event, which particularly interests
Anno di
Christo.
406.
 Florence, is, as it were, a luminous spark thrown out by that noble city amidst so much darkness, and a prelude of her future glory.) This voluntary army was composed of various nations; Vandals, Swedes, Alans, &c., united under the command of Radagasius. Such was the confusion of the empire, the frontiers having been left unprotected, that this ponderous host penetrated without obstacle into the heart of Italy. Many cities were sacked and destroyed; and whilst Rome and her senate were trembling, Honorius shut himself up in Ravenna, rendered invincible by the marshes with which it was at that time surrounded: the city of Florence alone resisted the hostile rage with heroic constancy, and consumed the enemy's force in a lingering siege. Reduced to the last extremities, it was succoured by Stilicho, at the head of the imperial army. The events, however, are not distinctly related*. The army of the barbarians, commanded not by Radagasius alone, but by two other chiefs, did not form a body animated by one single desire, and was more strong in number than in the valour of its combatants: a part alone of them carried on the siege of Florence.—Stilicho, who was master of the country and perfectly well acquainted with its local situation, appears to have blocked up every passage by which provisions could be carried to the camp of Radagasius, and in this manner converted the besiegers into the besieged†.

* Oros. et Augus.

† It is seen that this was his manner of making war; thus he had shut up the Goths in Greece upon mount Pholœ, near the

The famished barbarians made the most furious assaults upon the besieged city, which led to a magnanimous resistance, until the besiegers, compelled by hunger, surrendered at discretion.—Radagasius was killed; the greater part of the conquered who had escaped famine and the sword, were sold as slaves; and the heroic defence of the Florentines saved both Rome and Italy. A considerable part of this army was scattered throughout Italy, constituting a force sufficient to overwhelm it; but, terrified at the fate of their companions, they effected a retreat, which the prudent Stilicho did not think proper to prevent. But already the fatal secret of Roman weakness was too well known; a weakness, which continued increasing, as the same causes, operating without interruption, became still greater and more sensible. The barbarians, who had once tasted the delights and the treasures of Italy, although sometimes repulsed, returned with greater alacrity, especially when the imperial armies were without conductors, who, heirs to the Latin valour, could compensate the weakness of the troops by their ability. Thus it was when Stilicho, ruined by the cabals of the court of Honorius, and afterwards slain, Italy and Rome had no defender; the fierce Alaric

river Peneus, who by negligence escaped from him, and thus again he straitened Alaric upon the mountains of Verona, when, fearful perhaps of his valour, and animated by desperation, he suffered him to escape, by concluding a truce. From the words of Orosius we may conjecture that the principal body of the enemy's army was upon mount Fiesole: "*In arido et aspero montis jugo.*" "*In unum ac parvum verticem.*" The situation of this mountain, surrounded by others still higher, and with Florence encompassed by a series of little hills, the intervalleys of which, and the entrances of the higher mountains, might be easily shut, rendered more easy such an operation.—Zosim. lib. 5. Marcell. et Prosper.

returned*, and no longer kept in awe by that
 Anno
 Christi.
 406. hero, arrived at the walls of the city of Rome,
 then very populous, but by far too rich, and ener-
 408. vated by luxury.—In the times of her poverty and
 virtue, with a far less population, she had intrep-
 idly viewed her walls surrounded by the Gauls and
 Carthaginians, and knew how to triumph over them by
 her heroic constancy; but those times were now no more,
 and a city, containing at least one million of inhabitants,
 ransomed herself from the power of the Goths with all
 409. the gold, silver and precious spoils the barbarians
 chose to demand†. The avidity of the latter
 having been rather increased than satiated by these con-
 cessions, they returned shortly afterwards with begging
 pretexts to Rome, sacked the city‡, and exposed her to
 all the horrors which military licentiousness thought pro-
 410. per to inflict. Thus eleven ages after its founda-
 tion, this superb city, which had ruled over the finest
 portion of the globe, remained a prey to the Goths, and
 belied the pompous soothsayers, pagan prophets and poets,
 who had promised her an immortal power. In the mean-
 time Honorius, whom court intrigues had deprived of
 the only man calculated to arrest the common ruin, in-
 capable of witnessing the wrongs of his enemies, insensible
 to the public evils, and deprived almost of his kingdom,
 remained shut up in the walls of Ravenna, less unhappy,
 indeed, because he owed his indifference to so many mis-
 fortunes more to his own imbecility, than to firmness of
 mind. After the death of Alaric, the hostile torrent

* Zosim. lib. 5.

† It is singular that among the other demands of the Goths was one for 3,000 pounds of pepper.

‡ Procop. lib. 1.

finally abandoned Italy, and the empire returned, from want of opposition, into the hands of its imbecile Emperor.

The empire of the west continued to maintain itself by the valour of some illustrious captain, who from time to time appeared to rise, as it were, from the ashes of Italian magnanimity; but it is a painful and at the same time an instructive spectacle, to see how often princes sacrifice the safety of their kingdoms to their own
 452. jealousy or that of their flatterers. Stilicho, who had already saved the empire, and might still have prevented its downfall, fell a victim to the cabals of court. Another illustrious warrior, the celebrated Aetius, defended too the empire of the west by his talents and courage, under an emperor weak as Honorius, and met with the same recompense. The enterprises of Attila, whose name still resounds with horror in the ears of christians, are well known*. Upon the invasion of the Huns, commanded by him, the timid Valentinian prepared to fly from Italy. The empire was then unprovided with defenders, when Aetius was enabled to collect a force capable of opposing the Huns, by associating with the interests of the empire even those of the Goths, who had established themselves in Languedoc. So numerous

* This ferocious barbarian loved praise, but despised exaggeration. The poet Marullus presented to him in Padua a poem which he did not understand. When he understood from the interpreters that he was therein made to descend from the gods, and that he himself was called a god, he grew angry to such a degree as to order both the poem and its author to be thrown into the fire: he subsequently pardoned him, thinking that such severity might deter other writers from chanting his praises.—Callimachus Exper. in Vita Attilæ. Compare the good sense of the king of the Huns with the vanity of Alexander the Great, who wished to be thought a son of Jupiter, and considered a god.

an army had perhaps never invaded the Roman provinces; perhaps never was so great a battle fought as that in Champagne, near the plains of Chalons, which lasted two days*. The Huns were obliged to retreat, and the exaggeration that we read of 300,000 slain, although it cannot be admitted as probable, may serve at least to confirm a horrible slaughter. Nevertheless the saviour of the empire, Aetius, met with the fate of Stilicho, and it being dangerous to order him to be arrested, as he was the idol of the troops, the ungrateful and imprudent Valentinian became himself his executioner, and in a moment when Aetius was conversing with him, suddenly drew out a dagger, and plunged it into his heart. In his train of courtiers, however, there was some one free enough to tell him, that by this action he had cut off his right hand with his left. The troops, who adored Aetius, did not hesitate to mutiny and massacre the emperor.

Anno
Christi.
476.

But the final ruin of the empire of the west was reserved to Odoacer†. Born in the north, but educated in Italy, he held one of the first posts among those mercenary strangers which the empire paid for its ruin. At the head of those soldiers who from defenders shortly became enemies, he destroyed the remains of the empire of the west, and took the title of king of Italy. The last of the degenerate emperors was Romulus Augustus, who by a whimsical accident united two illustrious names, viz., that of the founder of Rome, and the founder of the empire, and who was called, by way of ridicule, Momyllus Augustulus. He was so much despised, that Odoacer did not think it dangerous to leave him

* Joonandes de Rebus Geticis. cap. 36. 41.

† Theoph. Cass. in Chronic.

his life; the deposed emperor was banished to the delightful hill of Misenum, first a modest villa of Marius, then a sumptuous one of Lucullus, afterwards of the emperors, where also Tiberius died; and which, passing through various vicissitudes, after having been the abode of this degraded emperor, became subsequently a sanctuary and fortress, and is now a naked hill, which, from the amenity of its site, bears testimony to the elegance and taste of the ancient Romans.

It has become the fashion, particularly with the French writers, to consider the Roman government as tyrannical and oppressive toward other nations, because its only object being the art of war, it ruled over so large a part of the world by force of arms; but a wise observer, who takes into his consideration the revolutions of so many ages, will easily absolve this generous people from such an accusation. The Romans not only conquered, but civilized the conquered nations; besides which, the state of war, wherein the history of past events shows us the fate of nations, places before our eyes the motives which prompted the Romans to extend their conquests. Scarcely was their superiority in arms lost, when we see Rome and Italy a prey to the first ferocious occupants, and exposed to those calamities which the valour of her sons had for so many ages kept remote from her. Heavy as those hitherto suffered had proved, from this moment a series of the most sorrowful events befel the unhappy Italians. Odoacer, first king of Italy, is represented to us as wise, moderate and merciful, respecting the religious rites of the inhabitants, in which he made no innovation. In spite of this character, however, the fate of the conquered is always melancholy: a third of the fertile plains of Italy was ceded to the conquerors*, whose

* Procop. lib. 1.

insolence she could not always control, and who thought they made a present of what they did not take away. Sciences and letters extinguished, (except the most vulgar arts, indispensable even to barbarians,) every thing that is the child of elegance and taste, and which employed and nourished so many people, was entirely lost; the fields became deserted, and consequently unproductive.

The opulence of the noble Romans, who, until the plunder of Rome had held immense possessions in Africa and in Asia, and which gave food and employment to the idle inhabitants of the city, had vanished. Africa, once the nurse of Italy, was separated from the Empire of the West; the little that its badly cultivated soil produced was for the greater part given to the conquerors, whence famine and desolation depopulated this once happy country.

CHAPTER IV.

ENTERPRISES OF THEODORIC, KING OF THE GOTHs.—HIS GOVERNMENT.—CASSIODORIUS, BOETHIUS, AND AMALASONTHA.—BELISARIUS.—NARSES.—END OF THE KINGDOM OF THE GOTHs.—REIGN OF THE LONGOBARDS.—ALBOIN.—ROSAMOND.—GUNDEBERG, WIFE OF ROTARI.—DESIDERIUS.—DUKE OF TUSCANY, LAST KING OF THE LONGOBARDS.—CODE OF THE LONGOBARDS.—BEGINNING OF THE POWER OF THE POPES.—CHARLES THE GREAT.—REIGN OF THE FRANKS.—LONGOBARD CODE CORRECTED.

FOR seventeen years Odoacer enjoyed the fruits of his victory, after which he was obliged to yield Italy to a more powerful conqueror. Theodoric, king of the Goths, marched from Pannonia, Mesia and Illyricum, with an immense population, to wrest the conquest of Italy from his hands, and his fate was decided in two battles, one in Friuli, the second under Verona*. Odoacer, beaten in both, sought shelter in Rome, but found that the unfortunate have few friends, and the gates shut in his face; he finally took refuge in Ravenna, where, after sustaining a long siege, he gave himself up to Theodoric, trusting to magnificent promises, but was afterwards put to death under pretext of a conspiracy. It was not indeed easy to prove the latter, but a conqueror is never in the wrong. Theodoric, remaining king of Italy, governed it with much wisdom: to military talents he united the arts of peace and of government, and knowing how necessary it was to flatter

* Vide Muratori *Annali d'Italia*: some make mention of a third action.

the people he governed, adopted Italian manners and even the dress, undertook to regulate the confused state of Italy, making no innovation in the religious worship: although a pagan, he respected the catholics to such a degree that he even made presents to the Vatican temple, in order to conciliate their general love*; promoted commerce by wise regulations as far as possible, and gave new life to agriculture. The energy of his character, respected even by his barbarous followers, served to protect the conquered by the wise laws he promulgated, and by vigour in their execution; he suffered the subjugated nations to live by their own laws, and under him the constitution of the Roman government was preserved. The prohibition of duelling does honour to his good sense: in a letter of Cassiodorius, written in the name of the king, expressions are made use of which might put the defenders of this modern gallant punctilio to the blush. He generously ransomed a great number of Italians made prisoners in an excursion of the Burgundians, and was certainly one of the most powerful of monarchs, for his dominion was so amply extended beyond Italy, that this to him indeed delightful province was the lesser part of his empire†. Although so ignorant of letters that he could not write his name‡, he highly valued those

* If in the last days of his life he disturbed the catholics, the imprudent Greek Emperor was the cause of it, by persecuting the pagans: probably the suspicion that there was a secret conspiracy between his catholic subjects and those of the East may have contributed to such a result.

† Southern France, the greater part of Spain, Dalmatia, Pannonia, a part of Hungary, Swabia, the two Rezii, and consequently the modern country of Tyrol, were subject to him.

‡ To sign his name he used a plate of gold, in which it was cut in large letters; and by passing his pen through the empty spaces of the plate, he formed the signature.

who possessed them, and was desirous of being surrounded by men of talent; of which the esteem he had for Cassiodorius, the most learned man of his age, whom he chose for his secretary, the pleasure he took in his company, by making him converse upon all the scientific knowledge known at that time, and raising him to the most distinguished offices, are sufficient proofs. Even the unfortunate Severinus Boëthius, a celebrated philosopher and elegant writer, enjoyed, for a long time, the favour of Theodoric, and was raised to the first honours; he incurred afterwards disgrace, and gave perhaps motive to the calumny of others by his bold and imprudent discourses*. He was shut up for a long time in a miserable prison in Pavia, and was afterwards cruelly put to death. His book†, written amidst tribulations and the horrors of a prison, to seek a balsam for his wounds from that philosophy which promises more than it maintains, excites the admiration of all who consider the times in which it was penned, wherein a lively and elegant imagination has covered stoic maxims with poetic colouring, nor does this work lose any thing by the side of the most elaborate writings of Seneca; and if it exceeds in magic the style of the father of Roman eloquence, it may be put in comparison with his philosophical writings. Boëthius had been educated in the schools of Athens, where the opinions of the philosophers of the golden times of Greece were still taught.

525. Theodoric reigned in Italy thirty-three years, and left an only daughter, the celebrated and unfortunate Amalasontha. Although in this short view it is not our design to occupy ourselves with particular events,

* Vales. Frag.

† De Consolat. Philosophiæ.

nevertheless the adventures of the beautiful daughter of so great a sovereign merit commemoration. She was equally endowed with the graces of body and mind; her father caused her to be well instructed, and the learned Cassiodorius gave himself much care to adorn her mind; she was early married to Eutaricus, destined to the throne; but dying before Theodoric, the son of Amalasontha, Atalaric, who, at that time, was not more than eight or ten years of age, was declared his successor. The mother his tutoress, superintended the education of her son. The Goths, however, by despising sciences and letters, and thinking them unworthy of a generous mind, obliged the mother to discharge the masters she employed, and to give the king young Goths his cotemporaries for companions; when, throwing all restraint aside, he abandoned himself to wine and other excesses, of which he died a victim, at the very early age of sixteen years. Amalasontha, by the laws of the Longobards, was excluded from the kingdom; her party, however, caused Theodatus, chosen by her for a husband, to be elected king, who, ignorant altogether of the arts of government and of war, occupied himself only with the rude literature of those times. Perhaps this merit determined the vanity and caprice of Amalasontha; and the result was such as fully demonstrated that he could not have made a worse choice. The ungrateful Theodatus, soon wearied with the commanding tone of counsel used by his benefactress, or perhaps stimulated by some ambitious confidant, confined her in one of the small islands of the lake of Bolsena, where she was afterwards strangled, in the flower of her youth and beauty*. The glory of the kingdom of the Goths was extinguished with their great

* Jornand. de rebus Geticis, cap. 59.

king Theodoric: the weak Theodatus, frightened at the threats of the Emperor Justinian, who pretended to the distant possessions of Italy as part of the empire, promised to abdicate the throne; but not doing so, nor daring to put himself at the head of the troops which were to march to meet the army commanded by Belisarius, confided the command to Vitiges, who, being proclaimed sovereign by the Goths, who detested a weak king, the vile Theodatus was put to death*.

The Emperors of the East were regarded as the natural heirs to the empire of the West, and the kingdom of the Goths was therefore in their eyes an usurpation. Those who preceded Justinian had neither talents or power to attempt the conquest. He it was who conceived the project and confided the execution of it to the man most capable—to the great Belisarius. This was one of those men whom nature rarely forms;—not inferior in military talents to the greatest generals of ancient Rome; more valuable, because deficient in courageous troops, and in the means of subsisting his own, he was obliged to contend with difficulties unknown to ancient generals; equally versed in the arts of war, as in those of peace, deliberate in counsel, fervid and intrepid in action, fitted to conquer by arms, and to conciliate the minds of the conquered, he was the best adapted to execute the projects of Justinian. Procopius, the secretary of this hero, and an ocular witness, has described his enterprises; and if sometimes we might wish to think him partial, he has only at most employed a colouring more seducing in painting the great events, the foundation of which, being well known, is attested by other writers. Belisarius had already signalized himself against the

* Procop. de Bello Getic. lib. 1. Cassiodor. epist. 32. lib. 10, &c.

Persians, and put an end to a difficult war against the Vandals; Africa had been regained, and their king Gelimer, led prisoner to Constantinople, had decorated his triumph. Justinian sent him into Italy

^{538.} with an army, which may appear unequal to such an undertaking, as it did not exceed 8000 men between horse and cavalry; but the valour and wisdom of the captain supplied the deficiency in the number of the troops. Having conquered Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, partly by force, partly by stratagem, he marched to Rome, which city, looking upon the Greeks as the liberators of Italy, opened her gates to him without delay. The Goths, in order to stop this flame, which was threatening their kingdom with destruction, assembled an army of 150,000 combatants, and advanced towards Rome*. Belisarius not having sufficient force to keep the field, shut himself up in Rome, which was soon besieged. The siege lasted for nearly a year; in which the obstinate fury of the Goths on one side, and the firmness and valour of Belisarius on the other, gave rise to the most illustrious actions. Neither hunger nor contagious disease, neither the dismay of the Romans, nor treason, could conquer this hero. Upon the walls of Rome this small body sustained attacks, which both from their fury and continuance, for the number of killed, and for their consequences, may be compared to great battles†; and the army of the Goths, continually

* For the events of this war, see Procop. lib. 1. &c. Journandes de Rebus Geticis. Murat. Annal. d'Ital., &c.

† In an assault given to the structure of Adrian (sepulchre of Adrian) which still preserved its ornaments, the statues, columns, and every thing that presented itself to the combatants, were thrown upon the barbarians. The sleeping faun, in the palace Barberini, was found in an excavation of the ditches of that castle,

repulsed, diminished nearly one half by the swords of the besieged, and by disease, was obliged finally to abandon the enterprise. This defence gave a decided superiority to the imperial arms. The Goths were dismayed, in part dispersed, and the remnant of their army proved unable to oppose the victorious Grecians, who receiving reinforcements, attacked various towns of Italy. Few had the courage to resist, and among these Fiesole, which was speedily conquered. Belisarius afterwards passed on to Ravenna, where the king of the Goths was shut up: Vitiges was one of the bravest of his nation, and, although elected by the free consent of a people who esteemed only military valour, and chosen too in times of danger, he nevertheless proved inferior to Belisarius. Vitiges was besieged in Ravenna, as Belisarius had been in Rome; the former city, however, was esteemed stronger than the latter: the number of the besieged at least equalled that of the besiegers, but we are not acquainted with any of those traits, which in the siege of Rome so much distinguished Grecian valour. Ravenna was finally obliged to capitulate, and the king of the Goths remained the prisoner of Belisarius. Little was wanting to the total conquest of Italy, when the suspicious Justinian recalled Belisarius upon the pretext of a Persian war. It is true that he had disobeyed him in refusing to accept an ignominious treaty concluded by him with the Goths; he had also been tempted with the offer of the crown of Italy; but his ready obedience, the Gothic spoils he brought with him, and the king Vitiges himself, were his best defence. Upon the departure of Belisarius, the weak remains of the Gothic kingdom

and was probably thrown there on this occasion.—Angelus Bargæus de edific. Urbis Romæ eversoribus. Thesau apud Græ. v. 4.

took fresh courage; Hildibald was elected a king, who was shortly put to death*; then Erraricus, little worthy of being mentioned, and finally Totila, who by^{546.} his counsel and arms regained the greater part of Italy. In vain was Belisarius sent back without troops, without money or provisions: his name alone, if it could not free Rome from the siege of Totila, at least sustained the miserable remains of the Grecian force; and if we estimate the difficulties with which he found himself surrounded, and the efforts of genius and valour by which he was able to surmount them, he will not appear of less consequence in this little fortunate campaign of Italy, than in his most splendid victories†. Recalled to Constantinople, he served a court faithfully for the rest of his life, where all merit was eclipsed by favour. He was only referred to in extreme danger, which post, he was neglected; even in his last days, whilst an invasion of the Bulgarians and Slavonians threatened the city of Constantinople, the trembling Emperor, his weak courtiers, and the whole people, turned their eyes to the neglected veteran, who, forgetful of past injuries, saved an ungrateful court by his intrepidity‡. Who would have imagined that after this last and signal service, they would have had the temerity to confound his name with a conspiracy, either true or supposed, against the Emperor? Belisarius was kept a prisoner in his own palace, and obliged to descend to the humiliation of justifying himself. He was finally pardoned, and eight months

* In the midst of a great banquet, one of his guards, who stood behind him, irritated by the king's having caused a damsel greatly beloved by him to marry his rival, drew suddenly forth upon him, and literally severed his head from his body.

† Procop. lib. 3.

‡ Agatius, lib. 5. Thophan. Chron.

afterwards terminated a life full of glory and persecution. By the retreat of Belisarius, Italy remained in the hands of the Goths; and Justinian, who scarcely possessed the means of defending the empire of the East, panted always after that of the West, and above all for Italy. It is matter of common observation, that princes frequently aim at new conquests rather than endeavour to increase the force and splendour of those they already possess. The falling Greek empire was continually threatened by the barbarians, whose incursions insulted the dignity of Constantinople, which they even dared to approach: but instead of thinking seriously upon securing the centre of his dominions, Justinian employed treasures and arms to recover Italy; and after many vain attempts, he confided the enterprise to Narses. History, the mirror of sovereigns and ministers, although in the past the future may be most frequently read by a discerning mind, shews us how often the fate of kingdoms depends upon the choice of able defenders. Belisarius and Narses successively recovered Italy: every thing was useless without them; all obstacles yielded to their valour; neither the want of manhood, nor his soft and effeminate education, detracted from Narses the merits of a hero. He had already fought under Belisarius in the same war; coasting the Adriatic by masterly marches, he led an army into Italy, composed of warriors of different nations. Between Matelica and Gubio, most probably, the armies of Totila and Narses met. After an obstinate battle, the Goths were completely beaten; and Totila, wounded in the flight, either by the hands of the enemy or his own people, died, after every assistance had been afforded him in vain. This battle decided the fate of Italy; for, although Teias, a brave and determined warrior, was elected king

of the Goths, Narses made himself master, by degrees, of almost all the country, and of Rome itself: and in another rencontre, which lasted two days, at the foot of Vesuvius, Teias was killed, after numberless proofs of valour*, and the remainder of the Goths stipulated with Narses for an honourable retreat out of Italy. The treaty, however, appears either not to have been maintained, or other Goths, who garrisoned some places particularly in Tuscany, did not ratify it; whence the war was not terminated. In the mean time, a powerful army of Franks, either roused by Teias, or naturally greedy of prey, had descended into Lombardy; and Narses sent against them part of his army, whilst marching himself to recover Tuscany. Florence, Volterra, and Pisa opened to him their gates: Lucca alone afforded an obstinate resistance, but finally yielded. In the mean time, the army of the Franks had invaded Italy as far as Calabria, but was routed and dispersed by Narses at the river Volturno. This war may be regarded as a conclusion to that of the Goths, after having continued twenty years; and the Gothic government was thus extinguished at the end of sixty-four years. Hatred of the name of the Goths will gladden perhaps the superficial reader, when he hears of the ruin of their kingdom; but this event, in the eyes of a profound observer, appears rather a calamity for Italy, as the conquerors and the conquered were now beginning as it were to be amalgamated together. The cruelty too of the first conquerors had been tamed; and if Italy at this time had been consolidated into one stable and independent government, she would have remained such for the future, instead of becoming subject to Constantinople. In addition to her

* Procop. lib. 4. Murat. Ann. d'Ital.

dependance and the tributes she paid, she was always weakly defended at so great a distance, and easily became the prey of the first enterprising people. Narses continued to govern Italy for a long time; and was occupied only in small wars, occasioned either by the Goths, who had still remained in some of the towns, or by the spirit of independence; but in all of which he remained the conqueror. After sixteen years, his government began to appear tyrannical, either that the avidity of gold seduced him, or that the natural desire of novelty made the Romans anxious for a change; whence the senate of Rome demanded his recall from the Emperor Justinian. If we credit the statement of a dishonourable embassy having been sent to him in the name of the Empress Sophia*, and that Narses, in revenge, called the Lombards into Italy, pointing out to them the facility of a conquest, we have a warning at once to Sovereigns, to respect those of their subjects who have rendered them important services. Narses was recalled; but, fearing the intrigues of court, he did not choose to leave Italy, and died at an advanced age in Rome. Narses and Belisarius may be regarded as the last generals of the Greek empire: both re-conquered Italy more by their own personal valour than that of their troops; both were disgraced at court, where the great enterprises of an absent hero are less attractive to the minds of weak princes than the insidious voices of present calumniators. Belisarius, however, appears to us

* Some historians relate that the Empress Sophia induced the emperor to say, it was time that an eunuch like him returned to spin at the seraglio; and that Narses answered, that he would spin such a web as the empress would not know how to extricate herself from. Murat. Ann. D'Ital. Signorino Horat. Blanc. Rerum Ital. scrip. tom. I, pag. 427-8.

greater than Narses, who, celebrated only in the war of Italy, sacrificed the interests of his sovereign to the revenge of the first wrong received. A long series of wars undertaken in Africa, in Persia, in Greece, and Italy, distinguished Belisarius. More virtuous and more patient than Narses, he opposed his secret enemies only with his frankness and innocence; nor did he take revenge for the repeated insults from the imperial court. Unfortunate in the dissolute conduct of his wife Antonine, the friend and confidant of the Empress Theodore, he became enveloped in so many dangers, that perhaps the same misfortune which had placed Narses above incurring them, will appear to some less severe*.

^{568.} Italy, thus deprived of such great men, easily passed from the yoke of the Goths to that of the Lombards. These people, mentioned by Tacitus, Strabo, Velleius Paterculus, lived between the Elbe and the Oder. Alboin, their king, a most fierce warrior, held the countries he possessed in so little repute when compared with Italy, which he deemed a certain conquest, that, marching with an immense host, carrying with it entire families with their moveable goods, he conceded to the Huns, and other neighbouring nations the country which he abandoned. Arrived at the confines of Italy, the ferocious king ascended a high mountain, to contemplate its beauty, and anticipate the pleasure of possession†; and entering without opposition on the side

* The history of the blindness and mendicity of Belisarius is a fable embraced with eagerness and without examination by poets, rhetoricians, and philosophers, as an illustrious example of the vicissitudes of fortune. This fable is only found in the verses of a discredited writer, (Zetzes chit.) who lived many ages subsequent to Belisarius.

† Paul. lib. 2. c. Sigor de Regno Ital. lib. 1. Murat. Ann. D'Ital.

of Friuli; Verona, Vicenza, and other cities surrendered to him without resistance. The imperial militia,
569. incapable of keeping possession of the country, shut themselves up in some few towns, where they defended themselves; but yielding by degrees to the victorious arms of the invaders, the whole of the fertile province was called Lombardy, after the name of the conquerors, and shortly afterwards Tuscany, Umbria, and la Marche experienced the same change, while Longinus defended little more of the Exarchate than Ravenna and Rome. This period was the commencement of a new dynasty of barbarians, who swayed over Italy. The valour of Alboin equalled his cruel ferocity, which apparently was the cause of his death. Before the invasion of Italy, he had almost entirely destroyed the nation of the Gepidæ in one great battle, and killed their king, Cunimund, whose daughter, the beautiful Rosamond, was obliged to marry the conqueror. According to the barbarous customs of those days, Alboin drank out of the skull of Cunimund, bound in gold, at a great banquet of the Lombards*; and in Verona, when perhaps rendered still more ferocious by wine, he obliged the unhappy Rosamond to drink from the same horrid cup. This was the beginning of a series of tragic events. The wife of the tyrant becoming highly incensed at such conduct, seduced two Lombard gentlemen by the charms and arts of her sex, one of whom slew Alboin whilst asleep. As this king was idolized by the Lombards, Rosamond, with her lovers, Helmichis and Peredeus, was obliged to take refuge in Ravenna, where she sought the protection of Longinus, who with an eager eye contemplated the beauty of her person, and the rich treasures she brought with her. Inconstant and cruel in her

* This was the custom of many barbarous nations, and is still practised by the American savages.

disposition, Longinus easily induced her to get rid of Helmichis, to whom she offered a cup of poison as a restorative, as he was coming out of the bath; but the flavour of the draught exciting his suspicion, he pointed his sword at her breast, and obliging her to drink the remainder, both paid the penalty of their crime.

The reign of the Lombards in Italy lasted nearly two ages, and experienced the fate of preceding conquerors. The sturdy valour of the warriors of the north became gradually softened and unnerved by the mildness of the climate, and the delights of the south. The unanimity of the chiefs, who rendered them victorious, lasted as long as there was danger of invasion; after which the desire of enjoying the fruits of conquest, abandoning themselves to effeminacy and repose, became natural to them. The nature of their political constitution, too, was not adapted to preserve the vigour of a government. Kings with very trifling authority; superior vassals, almost independent, commanding other minor vassals, who sought the same independence, and never obeyed the laws but by force; the remainder of the people conquered, considered as slaves, and treated even worse than the useful domestic animals. This was the complex of which the feudal government was formed, both of the Lombards and the other unhappy provinces*.

In the space of two ages from Alboin to Desiderius, twenty-five kings of that nation are reckoned, and the medium term of dominion for each is eight years†.

* See the fable of *Æsop*, of the serpent with a hundred heads, and that with an only head, which is the image of the feudal system and the monarchy.

† Some of them, void of all learning, distinguished themselves by good natural sense. Among these is mentioned *Agiluf*, hus-

Amongst these kings, Rotari deserves to be distinguished, whose wisdom and valour shed lustre upon the reign of the Lombards. Not born to the throne of Italy, his election does honour to the queen Gondeberga, sister of king Adaloaldus. Dying without progeny, he transferred his rights to her husband Arioaldus, who, created sovereign by the Lombards, treated with ingratitude the woman from whom he had almost received the kingdom as a gift. Her attractions had made such an impression upon one of the principal Lombard princes, called Adalolfus, that he had the courage to make an attempt upon her conjugal faith: the chaste princess having severely rebuked his conduct, the perfidious lover accused her in revenge of conspiring the death of her husband with Tato, duke of Tuscany, in order to cause the latter to be proclaimed

632.

king. Upon the testimony alone of this man the credulous and weak husband caused the innocent queen to be shut up in the fortress of Lomello, where she remained prisoner nearly three years, until Clotarius, king of the Franks, intimated to the husband that a queen descended from the blood of the Franks ought not to support the pain and infamy attendant upon so black a crime without proof. Recourse therefore was had to what was called the Justice of God: a certain Pittus or Carellus appeared as the advocate of Gondeberga*; the base conduct of the traitor was exposed, and the queen re-established in her original

536.

honourable rank. Upon the death of her husband, the Lombards put such faith in her wis-

band of the beautiful and prudent Teodolinda, to whose groom our Boccaccio has applied an ingenious trait of spirit, in one of his facetious tales. Decam. Giorn. 3. Nov. 2.

* Sigon. lib. 2. de Reg. Ital.

dom and virtue, that they left to herself the election of a husband and a sovereign, and she did justice to their good opinion by the choice of Rotari, one of the wisest of kings*. For the space of seventy-seven years since the monarchy was established in Italy, the unfortunate people had been governed without written laws: there

643. existed only some traditional forms or customs,

according to which civil controversies were decided; and it is easy to perceive that such laws, either deficient in many cases, or far too numerous, frequently led to the most capricious acts of injustice. Rotari was the first to form a code of laws*: he put together those which were only traditional, and adding others which he deemed expedient, fixed at least a basis which in some degree restrained the licentious will of the judges, and approached nearer to real justice. This useful work was done in Pavia, the ordinary abode of the kings†, and was the beginning of the written Lombard code, afterwards increased by various successors‡. Ro-

* Paul. Diac. lib. 4.

† We learn from the beginning of the edict of Rotari “first, that the Longobards counted ten kings before the invasion of Italy, as he was called the seventeenth king, and was the seventh of Italy; secondly, that the code was approved by the principal Lombards and by the army,” from which it may be inferred that the legislative power was divided between the king and his warriors, &c.

‡ In the midst of the strange and barbarous Lombard laws the wisdom of this legislator was rendered evident. Whilst for a long time, and even down to our own age, an ignorant superstition, adopted even by lawyers, has caused sorcerers to be considered as gifted with the power of injuring mankind, and the ridiculous formalities of their judgments have been permitted to influence their actions, he openly condemns the practice. *Codic. Longobard. Rotharis*, No. 379. “Nullus presumat aldiam alienam aut Ancillam, quasi strigam quæ dicitur Maga occidere quia

tari distinguished himself also in arms, added to his provinces part of the Genoese territory, and repulsed the united army of the Greeks and Romans in a sanguinary conflict near the Panaro: at his death he left his kingdom to his son Rodoaldus, a son unworthy of such a father; of whom we have scarce any other account except that after a short and inglorious reign, without progeny, he was killed by a Lombard whose wife he had dishonoured. His successor was Ari-

^{664.} bert, of the Bavarian nation, elected by the free voice of the Longobards; his reign was short and without glory, which he finished by the impolitic act of dividing his kingdom between his two sons, Bertaridus and Gondibert. Royal power has seldom been divided with good effect*, and the fatal experiment between brothers is almost always attended with the Theban disaster.

Although the two brothers chose a different seat for their government, the one Pavia, the other Milan, they soon attacked each other with open force, when Gondibert, calling Grimoaldus, the duke of Beneventum, to his aid, the latter finished the war by despoiling both, and occupying the contested throne. Grimoaldus was an extraordinary man and his vicissitudes very singular. Last of the sons of Gisalfo, duke of Friuli, when he was invaded by the Avari, he had singularly distinguished himself: his imprudent father, venturing with a small force to oppose the whole army of the Avari, had

Christianis mentibus nullatenus est credendum nec possibile est ut hominem mulier vivum intrinsecus possit comedere," &c. In the same code his successor, Luitprando, disapproves, though he does not dare to prohibit duels. Luitprandus, No. 63.

* Omnisque potestas
Impatiens consortis erat.—Luc.

been cut to pieces: the mother and sons were shut up after the battle in the Giulian Forum, or *Cividad del Friuli*: this infamous woman, falling in love with the king of the Avari, opened to him the gates, but paid the price of her treachery by an ignominious death, preceded by the most dishonourable circumstances. The sons in the mean time had taken flight: Grimoldus, the youngest of all fled on horseback behind his brother*. Overtaken by his persecutors, he was violently dragged from his saddle, but his life was spared, on account of his beauty. When placed as a prisoner in the same manner, on horseback behind his enemy, the boy, full of boldness, and with a mind fitted for the greatest undertakings, seeing a dagger hang by the side of his foe, had the courage to seize it and to stab him: leaping into the saddle, and turning the horse round with haste, he succeeded in effecting his escape. After many vicissitudes he became duke of Benevento; and the fame of his power and valour induced the incautious Gondibert to seek his aid in the contest with his brother. He saw the facility of possessing himself of the kingdom of Italy, whence assembling a powerful army, and creating his son duke of Benevento, he marched openly against the two brothers, whom he defeated in battle, slaying Gondibert with his
 662 own hand, and possessing himself of the sceptre of Italy by marrying their sister. One of the most illustrious Romans has said, that if ever it be lawful to violate justice, it may be so when it leads to a kingdom†. This is the unjust and dangerous garb of all usurpers, and unfortunately mankind judge from events,

* Paul. Diac. lib. 4.

† Maxim of Julius Cæsar: "Quod si violandum est jus, regnandi causa violandum est; cæteris rebus pietatem colas."

the grandeur and success of which cover great crimes. If Grimoaldus was to be judged by this rule, his greatness alone will appear. In his ferocious character certain sparks of generosity are visible, however darkened by suspicion. The other brother, Bertaridus, had taken refuge near the Avari: Grimoaldus caused it to be intimated to them, either to give him over to his hands, or he would regard them as enemies. The Avari, neither wishing for war or to betray Bertaridus, counselled him to fly; but that unfortunate man, not knowing where to take refuge, took the resolution of Themistocles: throwing himself into the power of his enemy, asking only to live privately and tranquilly in his dominions*. He was received gladly by Grimoaldus, and treated for some time with generosity; but the concurrence of his ancient subjects who paid homage to their dethroned king, excited the jealousy of Grimoaldus, who was counselled by his friends to get rid of him; and orders to that effect had been secretly given, when they were revealed by Onulfus to Bertaridus, who succeeded almost miraculously in saving himself in France; and if it is true that Grimoaldus not only pardoned but rewarded the fidelity of the friend of Bertaridus, it is a trait the more worthy of admiration, as the habits of those times were the most atrocious, and void of all virtue. Grimoaldus was also a wise legislator, and added to the code of Rotari what experience had shewn to be wanting†.

A theological dispute occasioned afterwards a singular change in the affairs of Italy. Obedience and custom, rather than force, had still preserved the remains of the ancient dominion in Italy to the emperors of the east.

* Paul. Diac. lib. 5.

† Paul. Diac. Murat. Ann.

These were Sicily, a part of the kingdom of Naples, Ravenna, with Pentapolis. Rome herself received both orders and governors from Constantinople, and although she not rarely disobeyed them, had not yet ventured to declare herself independent. The dispute upon the worship of the sacred images which had been awakened in the east, divided all the Christian world. The Greek emperor, Leo Isauricus, besides his imprudence in mixing in theological disputes, had the folly also to attack a rite already long established, and dear to the greater part of the people *. The flattery of his favour and the force of his power made the reluctant Greek prelates consent, and the people of the east, not, indeed, without tumult and sedition, saw their adored images snatched away from them. But the west, more remote from the imperial power, and more free therefore in sentiment, resisted courageously the imperial mandates; the armed executors were either repulsed or slain, and the High Pontiff Gregory, after having insulted even the Greek emperor rudely in his letters, gave the impulse to the Italians to shake off the yoke of an heretic emperor. The greater part of Italy, subjected to the Greeks, abandoned the imperial command. Thus a theological dispute, if it did not entirely deprive Leo of his establishment in Italy, almost annihilated his power over them; and Rome, after so many vicissitudes, found herself by this singular event freed from a foreign yoke, and at liberty to adopt whatever political constitution she pleased. A languid remembrance of ancient titles, without knowing either their power or their limits, had given a new rise to the authority of the people and the senate, who could not meet and

* Theophores. Gregor. II. epist. 1. ad Imperatorem Leon, &c.

deliberate without confusion and tumult. In the midst of this inevitable confusion, it was natural that religious reverence towards the Roman pontiff should cause him to be regarded as the first magistrate; towards him, therefore, by degrees, the eyes of the multitude were directed: his riches, his connexions with foreign princes, his religious influence, constituted him, insensibly, sovereign of Rome; a sovereignty legalized by the free consent of the people, and confirmed by the possession of ten ages. This is a more noble title, and more legal than the controversial donations of Constantine, of Charles the Great, and of Otho. The prudent pontiffs in the moment in which the zeal of religion in the Italians had shaken off the yoke of the Greeks, perceived that these cities, left without support, would have easily fallen into the hands of the Lombards, more formidable to them, perhaps, than the Greeks. Although, therefore, they threatened to cause a new emperor to be elected, they had the prudence to stop at the threat, and to respect the weak remains of the Greek empire, certain of having over these people an influence superior to that of the emperors, and to strike terror into the Lombards with the specious title of provinces subjected to the Greek empire. Luitprand, who governed this people at that period, appeared disposed to profit by the confusion into which Italy was thrown, by taking possession of the cities no longer defended by the forces of the Greeks. He advanced towards Ravenna, which opened to him her gates, as did some other cities; but Luitprand, who should have treated the people who thus voluntarily gave themselves up to him, with the greatest mildness, either wanted this prudence, or the power to hold in check the undisciplined Lombards: despoiled and cruelly treated,

they repented of their former conduct, and the Lombards therefore did not long retain their conquest. The Venetians, encouraged by the pontiff, marched in aid of the Greeks; even as early as this period they possessed a respectable marine force, and coming down with their fleet unexpectedly upon Ravenna, a nephew of Luitprand is stated to have been made prisoner*, Peredeus, Duke of Vicenza, slain, and Ravenna, with the other cities returned into the hands of the Greeks. The avidity of the Lombards was continually tempted by the riches of Rome, and restrained only by religious fear. Luitprand, however, marched against it; when the Pontiff Gregory, who knew well his character, went out to meet him, and addressed him in such terms, that, instead of attacking Rome, he went to prostrate himself in the Vatican Temple, where, having laid down his arms, mantle, and royal crown, he left every thing at the tomb of St. Peter. This king died after a long and happy reign. Paul Diaconus, who made a long eulogium upon his character, describes him as valourous in war, though a lover of peace; ignorant of letters, but for his wisdom worthy of being placed by the side of philosophers. He was certainly very devoted and obedient to the ecclesiastics; ransomed the bones of St. Augustin with a great treasure from the hands of the Saracens†, and went from Pavia to Genoa to meet this sacred relic. At Pavia he had a church in his palace, where divine service was daily celebrated, as in a cathedral, by priests and clergymen. Among other proofs of his personal bravery, it is related‡, that being told two of his armour-bearers wished to kill him, he made them follow

* Murat. Ann. d' Ital.

† Sigon. de Regno Ital. lib. 3.

‡ The same anecdote is related of Henry IV., King of France.

him into the thickest part of a wood, when, being alone, and making a sudden stop, he told them boldly that the present was the time to execute their design. The latter, astonished and frightened, sued for pardon*. His nephew Hildebrand, incapable of reigning, was, after a few months, deposed; and Rachis, Duke of Friuli, elected in his stead. One of his first undertakings was

745. the siege of Perugia. Pope Zachary went to meet him; and was able to influence him so much, that he not only persuaded him to raise the siege, but to abandon also the world. Rachis, therefore, passed from the throne to the cloister on Mount Casino†, and his wife Tasia and daughter Rotrude built a monastery, where they shut themselves up. To

752. Rachis succeeded his brother Astolphus, the same upon whom Ariosto founds his amusing tale‡. This king was of a character very different from his brother: he occupied Ravenna, and threatened Rome, when Pope Stephen II., perceiving that religious respect for him

* Paul. Diac. Anast. in loc.

† Anastas. in Zaccar.

‡ Astolfo, Re de' Longobardi, quello
A cui lascio il fratel Monaco il Regno,
Tutta quella giovinezza sua sì bello,
Che mai pochi altri giunsero a quel Segno:
N'avria a fatica.—ARIOSTO, *Canto* 28.

The desire of becoming a monk appeared epidemical in princes at this time. Charlemagne, brother of Pepin, and son of the famous Charles Martel, came into Italy, and built a monastery upon Mount Soratte, where he consecrated himself, by causing himself to be shaved in the crown by Pope Zachary; finding himself, however, disturbed by the frequent visits of foreigners, particularly of the Franks, he retired to Mount Casino.—Anselm, Duke of Friuli, retired also to a monastery built by him at Fano.—Anastasius, the emperor, beaten in battle by Theodosius, became a priest.—Theodosius, too, driven from the throne by Leo, together with his son, put on the ecclesiastical habit.—Faroaldus, Duke of Spoleto, pursued a similar course.

was too precarious a defence for the holy see, and that it was necessary to seek succour elsewhere*, implored the aid of the Franks. The warlike valour of this people had attracted the eyes of the world, especially by their victories over the Arabs. This nation, animated by a religious fanaticism, had made immense conquests in a short time. After having subjugated Persia, Egypt, and the fertile coast of Africa, extending from Egypt to Abila or Ceuta, passed the strait, and given a new name to Calpe†, they inundated like a torrent, and subjugated Spain more rapidly than a traveller could have passed through it; and, invading France, they threatened all Europe, until this vortex of war was arrested by the Franks and the valour of Charles Martel. In the incapacity of the Frank kings, Charles governed France, under the title of steward (Maggiordomo); his son Pepin inherited the charge; conscious of his power and his valour, and tired at length of sustaining all the weight of the monarchy without the diadem, he aspired to the honour that all warriors and the people were willing to confer upon him. One scruple, however, deterred him, worthy on account of its rarity of being mentioned in history,—and this was, the oath of fidelity he had taken to the imbecile Childeric‡.

754. Pepin had recourse to Pope Zachary, who, absolving both him and the Franks from the oath, declared him King of France, and he was consecrated and anointed by Saint Boniface, Archbishop of Mayence; and Childeric, shorn, and putting on the habit

* Anast. in Saph. Annales Franc, &c.

† Gebel al Tarik, or the mountain of Tarik, the name of one of the Arab leaders in Spain, whence we have Gibelatar or Gibilterra.

‡ Teophares in Chronog. Cedrenus in Hist.

of a monk, was shut up in a convent. After so signal a service, a successor of Zachary could not have recourse in vain to the King of the Franks: in fact, Pepin marched his troops towards Italy, and not meeting with opposition, arrived at Pavia, where he besieged King Astolphus, who, seeing himself hardly treated, and suing for peace, a contract was entered into, by which he was obliged to cede to the Holy See, Ravenna, and the Exarchate. But, after the departure of the Franks, he did not observe the treaty; and, probably imagining that the King of the Franks would not again bring an army into Italy at so heavy an expense to give a part of it to the pope, not only did not fulfil his promises, but hastened imprudently to besiege Rome. The pope, in this danger, wrote a letter in the name of St. Peter, directed not only to his Protector Pepin, but to his sons, and the whole French nation, promising them for such an action the eternal life of paradise*, and threatening

755. them, if they did not march, with eternal punishment. The King of the Franks was not disobedient to the orders of St. Peter, again besieged Astolphus in Pavia, and obliged him to cede to Rome, one of the most important parts of the Grecian and Lombard dominion†. This cession of Astolphus, or donation of Pepin, formed to St. Peter or to his successors a considerable state. Critics, however, in analyzing the letter itself of Pope Stephen to Pepin, have started many subtle disputes upon the *donee* (law term.)‡.

* Cod. Carolino.

† Ravenna, Remini, Pesaro, Fano, Cesena, Sinigaglia, Jesi, Forlìmpoli, (Forlì,) Montefeltro, Ciceraggio, Monte di Lacaro, Castello di S. Mariano, o Marino, Bobbio, Urbino, Cagli, Luccolo, Gubbio, Comacchio, e Narni. Murat. Ann. D'Italia.

‡ These are words of the letter: Donatio facta B. Pietro sanc-

Astolphus survived but a short time this humiliating treaty. Desiderius, Duke of Tuscany, was elected king, with whom the languishing reign of the Lombards was destined to terminate. The monk Rachis, brother of Astolphus, weary of a monastic life, had quitted his retirement, and, favoured by a strong party, aspired to the throne. Desiderius had recourse to the pope, who admonished the monk to retire to his convent; and so

756. great was the authority of the head of the church, that at this intimation Rachis found himself abandoned by all his followers. Desiderius had promised to the pope the cession of certain cities; but neglecting to fulfil this engagement, the pontiff referred to his accustomed Protector Pepin, who sent ministers into Italy, and the disputes were adjusted in favour of the Holy See. This was the last service paid him by the King of the Franks, who dying, left the kingdom to his son, Charles, who deservedly acquired the name of Charlemagne.

It had been the policy of Rome to prevent any friendship or alliance between the Lombards and Franks; it was therefore grievous to the Pontiff to learn that a matrimonial treaty was pending between the two royal families of Italy and France. The mother of the young princes, Berta*, had come in haste to Pavia to promote the union; the Pontiff declaimed against the alliance; and his admonitions would probably have received the approbation of posterity, if the princes had been actually united to other wives, as he pretended to believe: the other motives which he urged, accompanied with threats,

tæque Dei ecclesiæ et reipublicæ Romanæ. The keys of the city were deposited upon the altar of St. Peter's, and the pope took the government.

* *Annal. Francorum.*

are worthy only of the ignorance of those times *. Charles, who was one of those great characters who respected religion as long as it did not interfere with

770. his power; paid no attention either to the exhortations or threats, and married the daughter of Desiderius; but this tie, which gave umbrage to the pope, was soon dissolved by the divorce which Charles obtained, without any just motive, by marrying another †. New and stronger disgusts arose between the two kings; and on the death of Charlemagne, brother of Charles, his two sons had been despoiled of the kingdom by their uncle, an act of cruelty and injustice which the historians of those times have not ventured to condemn; so true is it that the lustre of great actions causes crimes to be forgotten! The nephews had taken refuge at the court of Desiderius, who not only afforded them protection, but encouraged the pope, his enemy, and whom he had recently deprived of some cities, to acknowledge them as sovereigns. Charles, invited by the pope to vindicate the common injuries, did not require much solicitation; he hastened to Italy and blocked up Desiderius in Pavia, which, after a long siege, was compelled to surrender.

* The following extract is given as an example. "What madness is this, excellent children, great kings, hardly do I dare to say it, that your noble nation of the Franks, eminent above other people, and the splendid and most noble progeny of your royal power, should pollute itself with the perfidious and most filthy nation of the Lombards, which is not even reckoned among nations, and from whom we know that the leprous are derived! No sensible person will suffer a suspicion even to arise, that kings so renowned will meddle with so abominable a contagion," &c.—*Cod. Carol. Epist. 45*. It is added, that he placed this exhortation upon the sepulchre of St. Peter, and sent it from that holy place, threatening them even with excommunication, if they disregarded his injunction.

† "Eginardus vita Caroli Magni."

Sent into France, and shut up in a monastery, Desiderius became an ecclesiastic, and died in sanctity*. His son Adalgisius, after having bravely defended Verona as far as it was possible, finally fled, and embarking at the Pisan harbour, repaired to the court of Constantinople. Thus finished in Italy the reign of the Lombards, whose fall was accelerated by the politics of Rome. Charles, after the capture and expulsion of Desiderius, called himself king of the Franks and Lombards, and treated the latter with kindness. At the siege of Pavia, Charles had gone to visit the Pontiff Adrian at Rome, and had confirmed to him, it is said, not only the donations of Pepin, but added even new ones. That these donations were merely verbal on the part of both kings is 774. referred from the letters of the pope, but their nature is not clearly defined: they were certainly not those referred to by Sigonius†, who states that Charles gave what he did not possess, as, for instance, Sicily. After the conquest of Italy, the generosity of Charles however grew cold; possessed of so fine a country, he probably became more strongly attached to its real interests. There are not a few documents from which we perceive that he exercised acts in sovereignty, not only over the cities of Italy, but over Rome herself‡. In the mean time this great sovereign established his son, the young Pepin, king of Italy§; and hence the commencement of another dynasty which France gave to this province. The establishment of a new ruler might displease Rome; the natural desire of aggrandizement, common to most sovereigns, might give rise to disputes between the two

* Murat. Annal. d' Ital.

† De Regno Ital.

‡ See Murat. Ann. d' Ital., where two interesting passages are quoted of Paul Diac. Eginardus.

§ Annal. Francorum.

confining states, in which the same power which had before assisted the pope against the Lombards, would become his enemy : but the piety, the religion, the respect of the family of Charles towards the sacerdotal authority, the counsellors, the ministers of these princes, for the most part ecclesiastics, all tended to confirm this conjecture; and among the principal ministers was the prudent ecclesiastic, St. Adelard, Abbot of Corbey*. In the mean time an epoch interesting for Italy and the whole of Europe was approaching. The reigning Pontiff, Leo. III., had been accused of various crimes, which excited a strong party against him. Charles returned to Italy, and arrived in Rome; the pope, confiding in his support, invited all the regular and secular clergy to assemble in the church of St. Peter, in order to state the substance of their accusations; but no one dared to speak. On Christmas-day, however, as the pope was celebrating solemn mass in the Vatican temple, (Basilica Vaticana,) on a sudden a crown was seen to move, and place itself upon the head of Charles, whilst the clergy and the people cried out, *To the most pious and august Charles, crowned by the great God, pacific emperor, life and victory* †. Thrice was the acclamation repeated; and the pope, imitating the priests of Israel, anointed Charles with the holy oil as emperor, and Pepin king of Italy. Thus the empire of the west, extinct for four ages, rose again by a bold step, by which the pope thought to possess, or usurp the power of creating sovereigns. Perhaps the pope, in giving this title, meant only to confer that of bishop or patriarch of Greece

* Ann. d' Ital. Mur.

† Eginar. Vita Caroli M. Joannes Diaconus, &c. The first court writer, secretary of Charles, designates this as a concerted plan.

or Asia, and certainly that alone, unprovided with force, would have been of little value; but conferred upon a sovereign so powerful as Charles, and upon his enterprising successors in times when the veneration for pontifical decrees was so great, it became a powerful instrument to palliate with a gloss of justice the most bold pretensions. The Roman empire had extended itself over the most fertile and cultivated provinces of the globe then known; these had been snatched by force from their original possessions. A Roman emperor might liberate by force either the whole or a part, or at least wrest the rights of vassalage from the sovereigns of those provinces. The acclamation of Charles, naturally concerted between him and the pope, was an act humiliating to both, as the latter, without losing any thing, gave away amply what he did not possess: the imaginary gift might be reduced to something. In the mean time the pope exercised one of the greatest and most respectable functions, viz., that of conferring the imperial crown. At this moment the consequences depending upon that event and example were not well understood. Various were the visits that this indefatigable sovereign made to Italy, but none had a consequence of so much importance. The life of this monarch, worthy as any other of the name of great, was a continued series of journeys and battles: his dominion embraced two-thirds of the ancient Roman empire; it extended itself even further on the north, where he made thirty-three campaigns, sometimes to humble, sometimes to recall to their duty, those ferocious people, impatient of restraint. He was always victorious, except in Spain, against the Saracens, whence, retiring in haste to calm the rebellion of the Saxons, he was attacked in a close and disadvantageous pass between the Pyrenees, in which his enemies

had lain wait for him, and his rear-guard was cut to pieces. This was the celebrated rout of Roncisvalle, in which, among other warriors, the famous Rolando or Orlando was slain, whom romance writers have noticed, and particularly the fabulous Tilpin or Turpin, archbishop of Rheims*, often ludicrously quoted by one of the greatest Italian poets. This misfortune excepted, the reign of Charles was truly glorious. The Lombard code was amended by him, and increased by various important laws, which may be seen in the *Capitolari*: he took the most efficacious measures, compatible with that barbarous legislation, to remedy injustice. It is easy to perceive how oppressed were the miserable people under the feudal government; how difficult that their lamentations should reach the ears of a sovereign, who had both the wish and the power to cause justice to be done. Charles therefore constituted itinerant judges who raised tribunals in the squares of the cities, and called upon the governors and people to state their grievances: the best lawyers of the place were summoned, the count, the bishop, &c., and their judgment was given in public. Such a tribunal exercised its rights too in the pontifical cities, whence it is clear that Charles had reserved to himself a perfect dominion over them†. Although devoted to the holy see, he had always sufficient vigour not to yield weakly to indiscreet pretensions, and to keep it within its limits. The greatness of his enterprises covers his defects. Pisa boasts of having

* In a council celebrated in Rome in 768, between the twelve bishops, is found this Turpin, archbishop of Rheims; but the romance attributed to him was written more than two ages after by a friar on the confines of France and Spain. *Fabricius Biblioth. Latin. Mediæ ævi.*

† *Annal. Francorum. Eginar.*

furnished to so great a monarch a master in Peter Diaconus. Although ignorant of letters, he honoured and sought after learned men by a species of instinct with which nature has endowed great men for all worthy things; and he made every effort to encourage learning in France and in Italy. The astonishment his great enterprises excited in his contemporaries, left a profound trace in even barbarous posterity; his actions were mixed with fables, which, to render them credible, are always attached to extraordinary men. Poets and romance writers honoured his name, and the public squares of Europe were full of curious people listening to the words of any one who recounted the actions of Charles the Great*. Charles, before his death, in a diet of respectable princes at Aix-la-chapelle, had caused his eldest son, Lewis, to be declared emperor†. This act merits reflection. The re-establishment of the imperial dignity in the west had received its origin and first impulse from the pope; whence it appeared that Charles should refer to the same fountain, to instal his son in the same dignity: he, however, preferred an election established upon a more solid basis, where the most powerful princes of Germany were of one accord, or affected to believe that the intervention of the high pontiff was necessary only in the establishment and creation of an empire; nor was the solemn act to be repeated to every individual, as he wished to prevent the dangerous influence that such an act appeared to give to priesthood over the empire. The family of Charles, established by three heroes, Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charles the Great, arrived at the highest splendour; but after his death their influence began to decline, his degenerate

* The name of Quack (Ciarlatano) is derived from these people.

† Annal. Francor. Thegan. De Gestis Ludovici Pii, cap. 6.

descendants possessing none of the virtues of their ancestors. Lewis, heir to the greater part of his dominions, the slave of his wife, was deposed by the cabals of his intriguing children, and recalled to the throne by the pity excited in the minds of the people by the sight of the degraded son of a hero; equally weak in body and mind, after a reign without glory, he caused himself to be transported to an island of the Rhine, near Mayence. Having lost his appetite, he superstitiously imagined that heaven was punishing him for not having observed the lent of that year, and died of languor*.

His sons contended for the great inheritance of their grandfather. Germany and Italy were drenched in blood by their discords; but these degenerate descendants soon manifested a total inability to govern a powerful empire. Italy, in which the conquerors rapidly succeeded, was treated by all as a country of conquest, and therefore each of them abused the right of governing it. In the midst of these miseries, she was threatened with another misfortune: the Arabs, for some time masters of Sicily, having passed into Calabria, had fortified themselves upon the delightful Misenus, converting the tomb of St. Severinus into an asylum for the worshippers of Mahomet. From thence they threatened all Italy; scouring the coasts with their fleet, they destroyed the city of Luni, proceeded up the Tiber, and entering Rome plundered the church of St. Peter. In order to defend this rich and sacred edifice from new incursions, Leo IV. surrounded it with walls†, built numerous houses, that the inhabitants might at least avail themselves of some temporary defence, and gave them to a number of Corsicans, who had emigrated from their native country.

* Annal. Francor. † Anastas. Biblioth. Vita Leon. IV.

The place took its name of Leonina from its founder, and is now included within the circuit of modern Rome.

The insolence of the Saracens was so great as to surprise in an islet at the mouth of the Rhone, Rolando, Archbishop of Arles, compelling his simple subjects to pay a considerable ransom for his person*. So weak in defence had the Italians become, that not more than twenty Saracens, driven by a tempest on the coast between Nice and Monaco, entering by night into a castle, probably Trassineto, murdered all who opposed their progress; then fortifying themselves, and having collected together their remaining companions, they made incursions into France and Italy, penetrated into the Monferat, sacked the monastery of Novalesa, near Turin, and maintained themselves there for some time, to the disgrace of all the Italian Princes.

* The Archbishop had gone to the island Camergue, where the Abbey of St. Cesarius, held by him, was situated. Surprised there by the Saracens, a very large price was stipulated for his ransom. In the mean time grief and probably sufferings caused his death, even at the moment of his liberation. The crafty Saracens kept his death concealed, and when his people came to receive him, they carried his body on shore upright in a chair, dressed in the pontifical habit, and made off rapidly with the money. His people approached the chair, and, wishing to speak to him, found a corpse.

CHAPTER V.

DUKES, COUNTS AND MARQUISES OF TUSCANY.—ORIGIN OF THE HOUSES OF ESTE AND BRUNSWICK.—ENTERPRISES OF BONIFACE.—INFLUENCE OF THE MARQUISES OF TUSCANY OVER THE AFFAIRS OF ITALY.—HUGO IS ELECTED KING.—HIS DISCORDS WITH THE MARQUIS LAMBERT.—EXCLUSION OF THE BAVARIAN LINE FROM THE DOMINION OF TUSCANY.—LINE OF PROvence.—HUGO, CALLED THE GREAT, GOVERNS JUSTLY.—HIS DEATH.—VICISSITUDES OF HUGO AND THE OTHER KINGS OF ITALY.—ADVENTURES OF ADELAIDE, DAUGHTER OF THE KING OF BURGUNDY.—BONIFACE, MARQUIS OF TUSCANY.—HIS MAGNIFICENCE, HIS RICHES, AND DEATH.—MATILDA, COUNTESS OF TUSCANY.—GREGORY VII.—HENRY IV.—PILLAGE OF ROME BY THE NORMANS, AND DEATH OF THE PONTIFF, GREGORY VII.—DEATH OF HENRY AND CONRAD, HIS SON.—HENRY V. EMPEROR.—POWER OF MATILDA, AND HER DEATH.

TUSCANY, exposed to all the revolutions of Italy, passed from the yoke of the Goths to that of the Lombards, and afterwards to the Franks. In these governments, nearly uniform, she had been equally governed and oppressed by a duke, count or a marquis who depended upon the king of Italy. By these titles the principal ministers of the kingdom were distinguished. From being judges at first, and leaders of barbarians, they became, after the ninth century, princes, distinguished by a single step only from the throne. It was their privilege and their duty to meet at the national council, and laws had no validity without their sanction. In the places he governed, the duke or count was a supreme civil and military commander, with absolute power, assisted in their councils, either civil or

Anno
Christi
814.

military, by their assessors or *scabines*, who thought themselves better informed than their master. Their conduct indeed might be subjected to the examination of itinerant judges, established by Charles the Great, when weakness or fear induced them to submit themselves to such a tribunal. They may therefore be considered both in their power and abuse of it, and probably too in the nature of their councils, as very similar to the Bashiaws or Governors of the Ottoman Porte. At a nod of their sovereign, they were obliged to march with their subjects in arms, and divided with him the taxes levied upon the people. The sovereign might displace them at pleasure, nor had the sons any legal right to inheritance; but a custom was soon introduced, by which they could not be deprived of their office without a process, at which a powerful duke or count often disdained to appear; and the dangerous habit of confirming the sons in the dignities of their father, united with the power of the son, made it gradually hereditary. During a long series of these masters of Tuscany, we scarce meet with any event worthy of mention*. Passing over those of whom little is known, we commence our observations upon this kind of government by introducing the names of Boniface and Adalbert, who formed the root from which two of the most illustrious families of Europe, the house of Este, and that of Brunswick, are derived. The favour accorded by the former to men of letters has received the most fortunate reward in the immortality given it by two of the most celebrated *chefs d'œuvres* which human genius has produced in Europe, viz., the *Orlando Furioso*, and *Jerusalem Delivered*. The latter family,

* See Cosimo upon the Dukes and Marquises of Tuscany.

after various vicissitudes, is established upon the throne of the most powerful of nations*.

The genealogical tables, for the most part, which vanity lays before the eyes of the public, begin with an illustrious man, whose origin is not sufficiently clear: this, however, is not the case with Boniface, for he descended from a family possessing the ample domains of Bavaria and Saxony, the limits of which were far more extensive in ancient than in modern geography†. Boniface, called the Bavarian, was Count of Lucca, in those times considered the principal city of Tuscany. His son, Boniface II., united with this title that of Duke and Marquis of Tuscany, and signalized himself by the defence of the places committed to his charge, and by his fidelity to the weak son of Charles the Great, to whom probably his family is indebted for their establishment in Italy. Besides Tuscany, the defence of Corsica‡ and Sardinia had been committed to his care, when the African Saracens, insulting not only these islands, but even the coast of Tuscany itself, Boniface assembled a small fleet, and leaving the harbour of Pisa the pirates vanished at the sight of him. After visiting the coasts of Corsica, he disembarked in Africa, between Utica and Carthage. The Saracens, not accustomed to be insulted by Christians on those shores, assembled a large body of combatants, and five times attacking the camp of Boniface, were as often repulsed with great slaughter: the conquerors, covered with glory and laden with treasures, returned to the mouth of the Arno. To his merit of defender of Tuscany against the

* Murat. Antich. Etens. Leibnitz. Origines Guelphicæ.

† Gibbon's Antiquities of the House of Brunswick.

‡ From him probably, the fort of Bonifazio, in that island, took its name.

enemies of his religion, Boniface added that of defender of the fair sex. The weak character of the heir of Charles the Great, Lewis the Pious, and the vicissitudes of his wife Judith, are well known. She descended, like Boniface, from the Guelphic family of Bavaria, which, interwoven afterwards in Italy with the house of Este on the female side, probably gave rise to the famous Guelphic faction. The sons of Ludwig the Pious, and particularly the turbulent Lotharius, king of Italy, either abusing the weakness of their father, or intolerant of the ascendancy which their mother-in-law held over him, had forced that weak sovereign to abdicate the throne; and Judith being at length shut up in a monastery at Tortona, whilst compassion towards the degraded son of Charles the Great, and the venerated remembrance of the father, induced the heart of his subjects to replace him upon the throne, Boniface, taking up his sword according to the laws of chivalry in defence of the fair sex, hastened with some faithful followers to free Judith from the holy prison, and re-conduct her in safety to the arms of her trembling husband. This gallant and valorous enterprise drew upon him the hatred of the king of Italy, and he was obliged to seek refuge in France, but probably returned to his government, and died in Tuscany. His son Adalbert I. sometimes denounced as an assassin, sometimes exalted as a hero by Pope John VIII., according as he was his friend or enemy, is distinguished by chronology alone from Adalbert II., his son, as they are confounded together by many writers, ignorant entirely of the actions of the former. Adalbert II. was one of the most celebrated dukes and marquises of Tuscany. His riches rendered him one of the most powerful of the Italian princes, and Tuscany began under him to take a decided part in the revolutions of

Italy. The state of Tuscany was contended for by two kings Berenger and Lambert: the duke of Tuscany was either an enemy to the latter, or desirous of aggrandizing himself upon his ruin, hastened still more by the ambition of his wife, Berta, the daughter of king Lotharius of Lorena, who probably aspired to the title of Queen. Having shaken off the imperial yoke, and united himself with Count Adebrand, he assembled a numerous army, which he marched against Lambert towards Pavia. This undisciplined body, led on by inexperienced generals, advanced to San Donino, between Parma and Placenza, where the active Lambert surprised them in the night with a few chosen cavalry, attacked, and defeated them. Adebrand saved himself by flight; but Adalbert, who had concealed himself in a stable, was made prisoner. When brought before Lambert, the conqueror pleasantly told him, that the place where his meanness had induced him to hide himself, had verified the prophecy of his wife*. Adalbert remained prisoner but for a short time: Lambert fell in the chase, not however without suspicion of having been killed by his companion Hugo. Italy lost in him an excellent king; young indeed in years, but not in wisdom, as we learn from an historian of those times†.

On the death of so powerful an enemy, Berenger hastened to Pavia, where he freed his prisoner Adalbert, whom he sent back to the state of Tuscany, and attempted to establish himself as the only King of Italy; but the powerful party of the deceased Lambert raised

* She boasted to make of her husband either a king or an ass. Liutpr. apud Sigonium, lib. 6. de Regno Italiæ.

† Inerat illi honesta morum probitas, sancta e formidolosa severitas, et quam juvenus ornaverat in corpore, splendida mentis canicies decorabat sancta, &c. — Luitprandus.

a rival to Berenger, by inviting Lewis, the King of Provence, to the throne of Italy, a prince descended from Charles the Great. Berenger, seeing this new storm lowering over him, and unprovided with troops and money, had recourse to his friend Adalbert, by whom he was powerfully assisted, and enabled to march with so formidable an army, that Lewis, upon his arrival in Italy, being surrounded, was obliged to capitulate; promising on oath never to undertake any similar enterprise, he was suffered by Berenger to depart in safety*. The enemies of the King of Italy, and above all the Pope, did not remain quiet spectators of this event; they recalled Lewis, and the pope promised him again the imperial ensigns. Perceiving, at length, that every attempt, without the consent of the powerful Marquis of Tuscany, would have been vain, they had recourse to his wife Berta, who had great influence over the mind of her husband. Adalbert, overcome by the incitements of so many Italian princes, and by the persuasions of his wife, proffered his aid to Lewis†; and Berenger, deprived of such powerful support, yielded to his opponent, and repaired to Verona, where he fortified himself. Lewis, having occupied Italy^{900.} without opposition, was crowned king in Pavia. Pursuing his journey to Rome, he received from Pope Benedict the imperial ensigns; and returning to finish the victory, he prepared to surround Berenger in Verona, who took refuge in Bavaria. Fortune, however, appeared to play with the crown of Italy and Berenger; for the Marquis of Tuscany at this time gave and took it away at pleasure. He had received the emperor

* Luitprand. Hist. lib. 2.

† Luitpr. Hist. lib. 2. Anon in paneg. Bereng. lib. 4.

at his court, and had treated him with such splendour, that the luxury and magnificence displayed on this occasion greatly surprised the emperor, who, jealous of being surpassed by a vassal, whispered in the ears of a confidant, that the latter acted more like a king than a marquis, and that he only wanted the royal title. These words being repeated to Adalbert, and malignantly interpreted by his wife, instilled a poison into the heart of the husband, who suspecting that his riches had excited the envy of the emperor, had influence enough gradually to alienate from him the minds of the Italian princes. Lewis, thinking himself secure from every danger, had disbanded his army by the advice of others, and remained quiet in Verona*. Berenger, informed of this, marched with a chosen and resolute body of troops, surprised Verona, and took Ludwig prisoner. After reproaching him for breaking his faith, he caused his eyes to be taken out, and compelled him to abdicate his throne. Berenger remained for some years without a competitor, but not wholly tranquil; and was finally deprived of his kingdom by Ridolf, King of Burgundy, who did not long enjoy the favour of the inconstant barons.

The power of the King of Italy, as in every feudal system, depended upon his agreement with the barons; and from their natural instability they no sooner placed a king upon the throne, than they became discontented with their work, sought to depose him, and create a new one, whom they soon deposed from capricious motives: a few of the most powerful and intriguing barons always proved sufficiently strong under such a system to change the government. Such for a long time was the

* Luitpr. Hist. lib. 2.

situation of Italy. The powerful Marquis of Tuscany, Adalbert II., being dead, his son Guido suspected by Berenger, perhaps through the intrigues of the ambitious Berta his mother, was imprisoned. Tuscany, however, had remained faithful to him; whence he might, after the fall of the former, have conveniently re-established himself. Guido and Lambert were the brothers-in-law of Hugo, Duke of Provence, the fruits of the first marriage of their mother Berta with Lothario, Count of Arles. Ermenigarda, married to Albert, Count of Ivrea, was also their sister, a woman not inferior to her mother in political intrigues*. Seconded by her family in Tuscany, she invited her brother Hugo to the throne of Italy. With such powerful support, the project could not fail: Hugo came by sea, and disembarking at Pisa, met all the princes of Italy and the ambassadors of Pope John; from thence he repaired to Pavia, where he was elected, and crowned in Milan, with the accustomed ceremony by the Archbishop Lambert. In vain did the Italians endeavour to effect the overthrow of Hugo. More artful and more fortunate than the others, he discovered a dangerous conspiracy, at the head of which were Geto and Valperto, who were both punished; the former was deprived of his eyes and his tongue, the latter of his life†. This conspiracy extinguished, the government of Hugo acquired greater vigour; but his avidity, injustice, and ingratitude to his benefactors, obscured his character, and were subsequently the cause of serious misfortunes. He was

* Ermenegarda cum mariti dictionem vidua administraret, favore Principum Italicorum mulieribus illecebris sibi conciliato, tantos opes quæsierat ut etiam Rodulpho regnum eripere cogitavit.—Sigon. de Regno Ital. lib. 6.

† Luitpr. Hist. lib. 3.

indebted for the throne of Italy to the family of the Marquises of Tuscany, whose ruin he attempted, and effected by fraud. Guido, successor of Adalbert, had increased in power by his matrimony with Maria, or Marozia, the worthy daughter of Theodore, and widow of Count Alberigo. This woman, in her dissoluteness, had no regard even for female decency, and made Rome and the Vatican one scene of prostitution. Armed with female arts, and more than female courage, fit to govern the seditious tumults of Rome, she had made herself mistress of the Adrian Mole, and dictated laws to the pope and the Roman people. Guido, Duke of Tuscany, felt no repugnance in marrying such a woman, yielding every other consideration to his natural love of power. He derived, however, no other advantage from the union than that of associating his name with some of the infamies of his wife, and shortly afterwards died. His bro-

931. ther Lambert, become, by the death of Guido, Marquis of Tuscany, was ambitious of the title or dishonour of the husband of Marozia. The King of Italy, jealous of the Tuscan power, which he saw increase by this marriage of Lambert, conceived a strange tale, adapted to the ignorance of the times, in order to despoil him of the state*. He caused it to be reported, that neither Lambert, Guido, nor the sister Ermenegarda, were children of Adalbert. In a case in which the most delicate proofs were sought after, Lambert had no difficulty in appealing to the so called Judgment of God, (Giudizio di Dio,) and proving the authenticity of his birth by force of arms. Hugo promptly accepted the challenge, and sent one of his bravest combatants, named Teutino, to confront Lambert; and although the

* Luitpr. Hist. lib. 3.

latter was victorious, nevertheless the enraged and unjust Hugo, by an extraordinary abuse of power, invested his own brother Boso, with the duchy of Tuscany, and caused the eyes of Lambert to be plucked out. Thus the Bavarian line of Boniface remained excluded from the dominion of Tuscany: Adalbert, however, survived this catastrophe*, and propagated the line in Oberto, and thence into the two families of Este and

Brunswick. His rival being extinguished, the king^{932.} of Italy did not disdain to unite himself with the prostituted and already aged Marozia: it is not well understood why he was not declared emperor, as the reigning pope John XI. was son of Marozia, born as was reported from pope Sergius; but probably thinking himself secure of this honour, he delayed too long the means of acquiring it: his pride offended the Roman nobility, and later events raised the most serious obstacles to his ambition. A trivial family occurrence, a box on the ear given by Hugo to his son-in-law Alberic, caused the Romans to revolt; headed by Alberic, they took possession of the Adrian Mole, where they found Marozia and the king of Italy, whose troops were without Rome†. He caused himself to be taken from the walls of the castle, joined his troops, and vainly attempted to re-enter the city: Marozia was imprisoned, the power of the Pope despised, and supreme authority conferred upon Alberic, now declared Lord of Rome, who well knew

* Adalbert III., both by Leibnitz and Muratori, is thought to have been the son of Guido and Marozia; but the accurate Gibbon, carrying the most ingenious criticism into these researches, shows that such a descent is irreconcilable with chronology, whence he thinks him the son of Boniface, younger brother of Adalbert II.—See Gibbon's *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*.

† Prodcard in Chron. apud Duchesne.

how to resist the arms and arts of Hugo. Driven from Rome and hated by the Italians, he had nevertheless strength enough to repulse the Duke of Bavaria, who, invited by the secular and ecclesiastical princes of Italy, advanced to the valley of Trento, from which he deemed it prudent to retreat. But the unquiet Hugo, always desirous of aggrandizing himself, took away the duchy of Tuscany from his brother Bosò, and bestowed it on his son Lothaire, whom he had already caused to be declared king of Italy. He found the minds of the people sufficiently disposed to this change. Willa, the wife of Bosone, so greedily coveted the riches of others, that the women of Tuscany had abandoned all their precious ornaments, in order not to tempt her cruel avarice. Hugo, with his accustomed art, induced the people to believe that snares were planned against him by his brother; nor is it at all improbable, as they were both of the same character. He imprisoned the husband, and robbing the wife* of all her gold and jewels with the most indecent violence†, sent her back to Burgundy. He then invested with the government of Tuscany his natural son Oberto, of whom history records little worthy of notice. To him succeeded Hugo, called without reason the Great, a title conferred upon persons who have raised themselves far above the sphere of this sovereign of Tuscany. With greater precision he might have been called just and pious, as he was accustomed privately to visit the cottages of his rustic subjects, interrogate them upon the government and character of their sovereign,

* Luitprand. lib. 4.

† "Mulier jussa est vestibus exui: quo facto, apparuit eam cupiditate gemmæ in occultissimis corporis partibus abdictisse." Sigo De Regno Ital.

and listen to their answers, which were not masked by fear or adulation. His memory is venerated by the ecclesiastics, to whom he made rich presents. The Abbey of Florence is one of the seven Monasteries founded and richly endowed by him, where his tomb and statue are to be seen, and where annually his praises are celebrated in a cold rhetorical declamation. At his death the male line of Provence ceased, and a foreigner succeeded him, in the person of Tedaldus, grandfather of the celebrated Countess Matilda. In the meantime Hugo, preserving his natural thirst of blood, caused Anscharius, Duke of Spoleto, to be put to death, under the pretext of the latter having conspired against him : he wished also to sacrifice the life of his brother, the Marquis of Ivrea, who was apprized of his danger by Lothaire, son of Hugo, and saved himself by flight into Germany. Deceit and cruelty formed the character of Hugo, to which was united the most unbridled licentiousness : a seraglio of concubines, at his advanced age served rather to irritate than to extinguish his impotent desires. Report or slander had given out that he did not even respect the most sacred ties of consanguinity in his debaucheries ; but his iniquities had at length arrived at their height, and the Italians were in search of one who might free them from such a tyrant. Fear, however, induced them to plot in silence ; all hearts were turned towards the exiled Marquis of Ivrea, saved by his son. His friend Amedeo came privately to Italy, and exposing himself to the greatest dangers, secured for him the unanimous wishes of the Italians. The marquis was in the mean time approaching Italy, already risen in his favour, and arriving at Milan, the ecclesiastic and secular princes united, and were upon the point of declaring him king of

Italy, when Hugo, aware of his own danger, determined to strike the last blow*. Aware that his son Lothaire enjoyed the affection of a great part of Italy, he caused him to be presented at the assembly of Milan, entreating that if the father had rendered himself unworthy of the throne, they would not do wrong to one who was innocent, by excluding him from it. The diet being moved by this act, Lothaire was confirmed king, more however by title than power, the whole of which was enjoyed by Berenger. Hugo retired into Provence, where Lothaire died after having reigned some years without blame and without praise: his death is reported to have been occasioned by poison. This crime, imputed by some to Berenger, whose life Lothaire had saved, is uncertain; but the persecution of Adelaide, the

949. widow of Lothaire, is an indelible stain upon the new kings of Italy, Berenger and his son Adalbert. In the midst of a tedious and uniform relation of treasons, of slaughter, and revolutions, the adventures of the beau-

951. tiful and prudent Adelaide deserve particular attention. She was the daughter of Ridolphus, the second king of Burgundy; her figure and agreeable manners had captivated the heart of the son of Berenger, who offered her his hand; but she refused to unite herself with those who had ruined, and perhaps caused the death of her husband. Irritated by the refusal, the father and son plundered her of all her riches, and shut her up in a fort on the lake of Garda, where the wife of Berenger, Willa, went so far as to ill treat her, even with blows†. She remained there with a female servant

* Luitprand. Hist. lib. 5.

† This adventure is related by the nun Rosvida, a poetess of that age, by Odlone, Abbot of Clugni, Donizone, &c. Murat. Rerum Ital. Script.

for a considerable time, when a priest named Martin, having made an aperture in the wall, or a subterraneous mine, succeeded in releasing the captives, and all three hid themselves in a wood upon the lake of Garda, where had it not been for the succour of a fisherman they would probably have perished of hunger. The priest in the mean time unveiled the secret to the bishop of Reggio, who not daring to give shelter to Adelaide, she obtained it finally from Atto, or Azzo, who received her into the strong fortress of Carossa. Berenger in vain endeavoured to recover her person; in vain formed a close siege around the fortress, which in those times proved invincible, and the siege was converted into a blockade. All, however, was useless; Otho came first from Germany, and having set her at liberty, admiring her virtue and her beauty, thought her worthy to become his wife. From the times of Charles the Great, no sovereign had appeared upon the stage of Europe of merit equal to Otho, and who united, like him, wisdom and valour: he calmed the seditious tumults of Germany; in a great battle near Augsburg, discomfited the Hungarians, who were overrunning France, Italy and Germany, committing the greatest excesses, and entirely destroyed their army; reduced to order the affairs of Italy; was crowned its king and emperor; visited Rome several times, and endeavoured to restore to her that tranquillity which a clergy without discipline and a people unaccustomed to obey had banished from her walls. In this, however, he met with the greatest obstacles; a conspiracy was formed against him, from which he escaped by flying to his troops, then lodged in the environs of Rome. Attacked by the Romans, who were repulsed, the fury of his soldiers would have led to an horrible slaughter, which was happily prevented by Otho. Perfectly master

of his temper, he brought the turbulent Romans to subjection, and caused the priesthood and the empire to be respected. We read of various donations made by him to the Roman church, which have the same exceptions as others. In these donations certain cities are mentioned which did not belong to the emperor*. After a glorious

973. reign, as well in war as in peace, Otho died, leaving his son, Otho the second, emperor, king of Italy, and of a great part of Germany. He neither inherited the wisdom, the valour, nor the clemency of his father. Desirous of signalizing himself in arms, and to wrest from the Saracens and Greeks that portion of Italy which they occupied, he marched his troops against them: a bloody battle ensued in Calabria, in which Otho was defeated†, with an immense slaughter of his men, among whom were many of the principal gentlemen and German ecclesiastics; the Bishop of Augsburg, and the Abbé of Fulda. Otho was in danger of being himself taken by the Saracens, but flying towards the sea shore, he was taken on board a Greek vessel under sail, not far from the shore, which he hailed and approached by spurring his horse into the sea. He found himself, however, in the hands of a pirate, or an enemy, from whom he escaped by means of a rich ransom‡. He was preparing new forces to

* In that mentioned by Cardinal Baronius, the city of Venice is included. Vide Murat. Ann. d'Ital.

† Murat. Ann. d'Ital.

‡ A Slavonian soldier on board the Greek vessel discovered him: Otho promised a considerable ransom to the captain, asking him permission to send a messenger to the Empress Teofania, who would send sacks of gold to redeem him. She was in the city of Rossano, where the plan was concerted. When the ship appeared in sight, a number of beasts of burden went out of Ros-

revenge the insult his arms had suffered, when he died in Rome. Otho III., who succeeded the father in the same dominions, was very inferior also to his grandfather: being crowned emperor, he several times visited Italy and Rome, continually immersed in the same disturbances. The remembrance of their ancient enterprises, and of lost Roman splendour, kept the degenerate descendants in a state of inquietude, and drove them on, not to laudable undertakings, but to seditions. Crescentius, of a troublesome spirit, and gifted more with rashness than courage, excited Rome and Italy to shake off the government of a foreign prince. These words, which made no impression upon the Italians, produced their desired effect in Rome. Otho hastened to quell the rebellion, and the walls of Rome were fortified; but upon the Romans vacillating, Crescentius shut himself up in the Adrian Mole. He finally capitulated, and Otho, who had previously promised him his life, ordered him to be beheaded; but afterwards, from feelings of remorse, and desirous of expiating the crime, he went barefooted on a pilgrimage to Mount Gargano, celebrated for the sanctuary of San Michael. He even passed a whole Lent as a penitent in the monastery of Classe, and is supposed by some to have died of poison, administered to him in revenge by the wife of Crescentius, whom he had had the imprudence to choose

sano, laden with sacks, which appeared full of money. In some of the boats were standing courageous soldiers, dressed as sailors. Theodore, Bishop of Metz, approached the Greek vessel to conclude the treaty. Otho, conducted to the prow of the vessel, in sight of his men, and trusting to his ability in swimming, gave a leap into the water, and a Greek who endeavoured to retain him by the coat, was seriously wounded. He arrived safe on shore, leaving a rare example of a Greek having been deceived by a German. Murat. Ann. d'Ital.

for a lover: never had saint or hero died so much hated by the Italians; even his corpse, on being transported to Aix-la-chapelle, was insulted by the populace wherever it passed; and the armed troops who formed the escort, were frequently assailed *. In the mean time Tedaldo had succeeded Hugo, called the Great, in the government of Tuscany, and next to him Boniface father of the Countess Matilda. The Tuscan historian should pay particular attention to this celebrated woman, as mistress of Tuscany, and as one of the most prominent actresses in the sanguinary contest between the priesthood and the government. Boniface was regarded in these times as the most respectable prince of Italy; he ruled over Mantua and Ferrara †, and became afterwards Marquis of Tuscany; he had two brothers, Tedaldus and Conrad; the former, a man of exemplary chastity ‡, was Bishop of Arezzo; the other a brave warrior. The bravery of Conrad saved Boniface in a feat of arms in Lombardy; assailed by those people, whilst fighting bravely, and having with his own hands cut off the head of a soldier who had ferociously called him to battle, he was near yielding, when he was succoured by his brother Conrad, who, making a sudden

* Ditmaro, lib. 4. Annalista Sassone, &c.

† Murat. Antiquit. Ital. Diss. 6.

‡ Doniz. cap. 5.

Extat castus ita quod quodam tempore quidam
Perversi vane pro quadam debilitate
Hortabantur eum stuprum committere secum,
Quod præsul tractans jussit deducere partam
Quippe lupam quamdam, prius ignem ponere mandans
Ante suum stratum: videt ignem flammiferatum
Approprians junta dum flammas sensit abundans
In lacrymis clamat: vae, vae mihi si modo raram
Flammiculam vilem nequeo sufferre, perire
Si me contingat Barathri flammam, miser: illav
Quomodo sufferre potero?

sortie out of the wood with his men, attacked the enemy, re-established the fight, and finally defeated them. This victory, however, proved fatal to him; a wound which he received on this occasion having brought him slowly to the tomb. The riches of Boniface, his more than royal pomp, and luxury of ostentation, were displayed in his second nuptials with Beatrice, daughter of Frederic, Duke of Lorraine, after the death of his first wife Richilda*.

1027.

He went to receive Beatrice with a most sumptuous train; his horses, if we are to believe Donizone †, having been shod with silver. He conducted his wife into Lombardy, where, according to the customs of those times, he kept a public table for three months, at which not only the noble foreigners, but all descriptions of people, were wont to assemble: vulgar and coarse entertainments and buffooneries, adapted to the rudeness of the times, were the spirit of these amusements; gold and silver adorned the tables, to which the viands were carried on beasts of burden; sweet-scented spices were crumbled by force of mills, and there were even wells of wine, where every one could quench his thirst out of pails of silver. Although such descriptions may be thought exaggerated, we must nevertheless infer that the magnificence of these nuptials greatly surprised Italy: many lands and castles, some in Lorraine, others in the Brescian territory, were brought in dowry to the Marquis of Tuscany by Beatrice. The present too of three hundred horses, and as many goshawks, made by Albert, his Viscount or Vicar of Mantua, to the emperor Henry, when he came to Italy, excited the

* She was daughter of Gisalbert, Earl of the sacred Palace in Italy.

† Cap. 9. Vita Mathil. Doniz.

admiration of this prince, who deduced the riches of the principal from those of his vicar*. The extraordinary riches of Boniface may excite our astonishment; but besides the cities and castles which he possessed in this province, he held many ecclesiastical lands†, and of others he made a vile traffic, by conferring them for money. It is true that every year he was accustomed to visit the celebrated monastery of Pomposa, and there make solemn confession and penitence for his sins, not without offering rich gifts to that church‡; sometimes publicly submitting to the discipline of the whip from the holy Abbé Guido, before the Altar§. He died a violent death in a very advanced age. Passing through a wood between Mantua and Cremona, he was wounded with a poisoned arrow by a concealed traitor, and buried in Mantua. The Duchess Beatrice, was left with three children, viz., Frederic, Beatrice, and Matilda; and the possession of the vast paternal dominions falling to the widow, the children being left in her custody, she became a very important person. An alliance with the duchess was sought by the most pow-

* Donizone relates that the emperor Henry, having invited Albert to dinner, the latter refused, saying that he had never dared to seat himself at the table of Boniface; that having obtained afterwards the permission from him, and received as presents from the emperor many furs, all these gifts he presented to his principal, together with one of a stag, full of money. These facts are adapted to shew the customs and manner of thinking of those times. Certainly the power of Boniface had always given umbrage to the emperor Henry III., and finally led to his arrest.

† Murat. *Antiq. Ital.* Diss. 36.

‡ Doniz.

*Fratres ac Abbas ejus delicta lavabant
Ecclesiæ quorum solito dabat optima dona,
Rex etenim nullus dedit ibi meliora.*

§ Doniz.

erful nobles. It was on this account that Geoffrey, Duke of Lorena, secretly desired the treaty, and arriving in Italy, married Beatrice, and concerted at the same time the union of his son Geoffrey, (the Hunchback), with his daughter-in-law Matilda, then at a very tender age. The power of the dukes and marquises of Tuscany often excited the jealousy of the emperors: it is not, therefore, surprising that this matrimonial alliance, mysteriously concluded without his knowledge, should have displeased the emperor Arrigo, when he saw a crafty and aspiring man like Geoffrey, possess himself of the dominions of the deceased Boniface without his approbation.

The emperor in the mean time arrived in Mantua, but Geoffrey did not presume to present himself to him; he sent, however, his wife Beatrice to make intercession, and to promise fidelity. In spite of her safe passport, she was detained by the emperor, who, in order to assure himself still more of Geoffrey, endeavoured by every art to get possession of the younger son of Beatrice. The young prince dying about this time, and shortly before his sister Beatrice, all the hopes of this house, together with the rich dominions, were consolidated in Matilda. The emperor passed into Tuscany, and had a meeting with the Pontiff Vittorio, who assembled a council in Florence—Geoffrey, in the mean time, had retired into Lorraine, while the emperor, fearful of his designs and activity, did not delay returning into Germany. Beatrice remained a prisoner until his death, which happened the following year, and his son Henry IV., as yet a boy, having been proclaimed king of Germany, by means of the pope, pardoned the enemies of his father at the intercession of the same pontiff, and among them Geoffrey, and set his wife

Beatrice at liberty. Geoffrey formed a friendship with the pope, and invited him to Florence, where, upon arrival, he created his brother Frederic a cardinal, by the title of St. John Chrysostomus. The pontiff died whilst they were carrying the new cardinal to Rome to

take possession of his church. He was then

^{1057.} created pope by the name of Stephen IX. with universal applause, which gave an increase of power in Italy to his ambitious brother Geoffrey. They soon prepared to profit by these events particularly during the minority of the new king of Germany, Henry IV. Already had the treasures of the sanctuary of Mount Casino been carried secretly to Rome by order of the pope, to the great annoyance of the monks, but scruples which hence arose in his conscience induced him to send back the treasure, and his death, which happened shortly afterwards, broke the vast designs of his brother, who aspired to the kingdom of Italy and the imperial crown. Having returned to Lorraine, he experienced various vicissitudes, and at his death left a son by his

first marriage, named Geoffrey, or Gozzelone the

^{1069.} Crooked, who, either before or at this time married the only daughter of Boniface and Beatrice, the celebrated Countess Matilda. It appears, however, that her husband had little influence in the government of the states of his wife, as on various occasions we find, in the acts of sovereignty exercised at this time in Tuscany and elsewhere, the conjoint names of Beatrice and Matilda. The part which the latter had taken in favour of the emperor, in the controversies between him and the pope, could not render him very acceptable to his wife or to his mother-in-law, the declared partisans of the pontiff. It has been doubted whether the marriage of these parties had ever been consummated; yet it is certain that

after a short time Matilda lost her husband and mother. The former was killed in a very extraordinary manner*. The Countess Beatrice, a woman adorned with many moral virtues, had died in the city of Pisa;—equally religious and prudent, her memory was long venerated, and her sepulchral urn still remains in the Campo Santo, where once were the barbarous verses,

Quamvis peccatrix sum domna vocata Beatrix
In tumulto missa jaceo quæ comitissa †.

Matilda, now mistress of rich and powerful dominions in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, became particularly celebrated for her attachment to the Holy See, and to Gregory VII., in the tumultuous and sanguinary disputes which in those times agitated the church and the empire. Her religious charity might certainly incline her to the church party, to which she was also united by interest. According to the laws of those times, the states of Bonifazio, her father, did not descend to the female line; and in order to be possessed even by the males, the sanction of the emperor or of the king of Italy was necessary. Matilda, deprived of these rights, had every thing to fear on the part of the emperor; she was nevertheless one of the most faithful supporters of Gregory VII., who, arrogating to himself the power of giving and taking away kingdoms, awakened a dispute which for a long time scandalously divided the Christian world, and often produced the most bloody scenes. If that pretension at any time excessively increased the authority of the pontiffs, it greatly contributed to di-

* At the time he was at the common place which had communication with the public street, a traitor threw an arrow at him from an opposite building, pierced by which, he shortly after died. Murat. Ann. d'Ital.

† V. Morrona, Pisa Illustrata, &c.

minish it, by exciting the jealousy of the sovereigns against the power of Rome. The dispute may be
1073. said to have begun with the election of Gregory VII. to the pontificate. He had already signalized himself for a long time in maintaining the pretensions of the imperial city, and promoted, by his authority and eloquence, the bull of Stephen IX., in which it was pretended to exempt the ecclesiastics from the secular forum, and from taxes of any kind imposed by the laity. He had strenuously maintained the assertion, that neither the emperor or other sovereigns possessed the right to interfere in the election of the pope. We discover also in his character a certain imperious will in opposing the determinations of the holy Abbé of Monte Casino Desiderio, who had enjoined penitence on the young Abbé of the island of Tremiti for having caused the eyes of four ecclesiastics to be plucked out, upon the bare suspicion of a conspiracy. This learned, pious, but fierce cardinal, being elected pope by the name of Gregory VII., demanded the approbation of Henry; and if we credit the statement of the Cardinal of Aragon*, that Gregory in writing to the emperor, begged him not to approve his election, otherwise he could not tolerate his excesses, we must admire the virtue of Henry in confirming it. The air of superiority which he assumed over other sovereigns is apparent in his letter, full of denunciations, to Philip, King of France, for having on some occasions caused large sums of money to be paid to the Italian merchants.

The first act of hostility between Henry and the pope took place soon after the death of the Duchess Beatrice. One of the principal causes of dispute was the collation

* Vita Gregorii VII.

of ecclesiastical benefices, a privilege which the secular princes actually exercised, and which the pontiff also claimed. Gregory had early held a council in Rome; and, determined to pursue vigorous and bold measures, had publicly and expressly forbidden what preceding pontiffs modestly attempted to reform. The secular princes were unwilling to relinquish a right of so much importance, and which so greatly increased the power of those who exercised it under a feudal constitution. In spite of the resolutions of the council, Henry continued to exercise the right as heretofore; and Gregory, after having written letters full of rigorous admonitions, despatched two legates to the emperor, threatening^{1076.} him with the spiritual thunders of the holy see, in case he persisted in his purpose. Henry caused a council to be assembled in Worms, by which Gregory was condemned and deposed*. The pontiff, apprized of this measure, pursued a similar course against Henry, declaring him to be excommunicated, and at the same time absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance. Unfortunately for Henry, he had powerful enemies in Germany, to whom the measures of the pope afforded pretext for rebellion. Henry found himself at once abandoned, not only by princes and soldiers, but even by his own domestics. It is related that two of the most faithful remained to serve him, the remainder flying from an excommunicated person as from one afflicted with the plague. He had recourse to entreaty, and promised the pope to submit himself to the decision of a diet which should be held in Augsburg; but thinking, probably, that their decision would prove fatal to him, he resolved to solicit the aid of the Italians. The

* Murat. Ann. d' Ital.

pope had marched from Rome, escorted by the Countess Matilda, and on his arrival in Vercelli, learnt that Henry had already arrived in Piedmont by another route. As the imperial party was stronger in Italy than in Germany, Gregory judged it most prudent to place himself in security, and therefore shut himself up with Matilda in the strong fortress of Canossa, where Henry sought to obtain the forgiveness of the haughty pontiff, who, in consequence of the repeated importunities of Matilda, the humble prayers of the Marchioness Susa, Adelaide, mother-in-law of Henry, and of many princes and prelates who interceded for his pardon, condescended at length to admit him to his presence, and exacted from him the most abject humiliation*. Canossa was surrounded by a triple line of walls: in the month of January Henry was held for three days in the second circle, from the morning until the evening, despoiled of his royal insignia, covered with abject garments, and bare-footed, in the most inclement season, and compelled to fast for the same time: he was afterwards received by the pope, to whom he promised all that he wished. Gregory absolved him from the excommunication, but did not re-establish him on the throne with full authority, leaving to the diet that decision which he had not waited for before. This extraordinary event equally excited the indignation of the Italian princes against Gregory and Henry, the former being accused of cruelty and pride, the latter of servility and baseness, his enraged subjects proceeding so far as to shut the gates of the city in the face of their unfortunate sovereign. At length universal compassion was able to accomplish more than general contempt. Animated by numerous partisans, Henry assumed the royal ensigns,

* See Lamber. Scarafurgien. Chronon. Card. de Arag. Vita Gregor. Doniz. Vita Mathild., &c.

and refusing to present himself at the diet, Ridolph, duke of Swabia, was elected king. This measure displeased Gregory, who contended that to himself alone* was reserved the right of deciding to whom the crown of Germany belonged. From the lands of the Countess

Matilda in Lombardy, where until now he had^{1079.} lived, he returned to Rome and held a council, in which it was determined to send legates into Germany, to take cognizance of these affairs. In the mean time Henry, having returned to Germany, and assembled a small army, commenced hostilities against his rival, which continued nearly two years. Ridolph, however, having remained superior in a bloody engagement which took place in January, forwarded an account of his success to the pontiff, together with new accusations against Henry. Determined by victory, the pope immediately declared Ridolph king of Germany, on which occasion he made use of that celebrated verse,

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudolpho.

He then renewed his excommunications against Henry, condemning him, by virtue of them, to be always unsuccessful in battle†. According to the assertion of Sigiberto, the pontiff predicted even his death. Certain it is that he prophesied his downfall‡; but fate gave the lie to all his presages. Henry at length became the conqueror, and his rival was killed in a great battle in

* Lib. 4. Ep. 23, 24, 28.

† Thus he expresses himself: "*Ipse autem Henricus cum suis fautoribus in omni congressione belli nullas vires, nullamque in vita sua victoriam obtineat, &c.*"

‡ Gregor. VII. Epist. da lib. 8. "*Nefandorum perturbationem merita ruina cito sedandam, et Sanctæ Ecclesiæ pacem et securitatem (sicut, et de divina clementia confidentes promittimus) proxime stabiliendam.*" Vide Baronio a Fleury.

Germany. This accident much disconcerted the affairs of the pontiff, who (as men judge always from events) was severely censured. The affairs of Italy did not improve in those parts where the friends of Henry increased. The Countess Matilda had assembled a powerful force to oppose his favourers, but the two armies meeting in the Mantuan territory, that of Matilda was entirely defeated*. These victories threw the pontiff and Matilda into great embarrassment: already had the conqueror, greedy of revenge, penetrated into Italy; the states of Matilda were the first to suffer from the storm, and Florence was closely invested; but
 1081. resisting valorously from April until the 21st of July, Henry was finally obliged to retire towards Rome, which he also besieged. The partisans of Henry in Lombardy took up arms against Matilda, and Lucca, at that time the principal city of Tuscany, rebelled against her. The siege of Rome terminated like that of Florence: the unwholesome air of the Roman country proved more injurious to Henry than the arms of the Romans†; and a fatal epidemic arising in his army, he was obliged to depart. Returning to Tuscany and Lombardy he occupied the lands of Matilda, who, leaving him master of the open places, retired within her fortresses, and continued to afford assistance to the pope. Henry, after various useless attempts, finally entered into Rome two years after this expedition, the gates having been opened to him by the people, and Gregory taking refuge in the Adrian mole‡. He soon caused another pope to be consecrated, called Clement III., who

* Card. de Arag. Vit. Gregor. Barthold. Costantien in Chron.

† Card. de Aragon. Vita Gregor. VII.

‡ Annales Saxon. apud Echard Carden. de Arag. Vita Greg. VII.

solemnly bestowed on him the imperial crown; but receiving information, that the celebrated duke Robert Guiscardo, with a powerful army, was hastening to liberate the pope, Henry retired to Siena. In the mean time Robert, either by force or treason, entered into Rome, and his undisciplined army, composed of Normans and Saracens, set fire to various parts of the city, sacked it*, dishonoured the women, made slaves of many Romans, and freed the pope, who, after so horrible an event, not thinking himself secure in Rome, retired under the auspices of Robert to Salerno, where he soon died. Unspotted in his manners, rigid in discipline, and endowed with many ecclesiastical virtues, he is reckoned with reason among the most distinguished of those who have occupied the pontifical throne; but having been the first to arrogate to himself the right of exercising an abuse of power, which awakened a war between the priesthood and the empire, and proved fatal to both parties, he has not received the entire approbation of an enlightened posterity. He is nevertheless acknowledged to have been actuated by good faith, and his zeal, however indiscreet, was dictated by a conviction of his rights.

Matilda still continued to resist the progress of Henry. His army was already devastating her lands, and Castel de Sorbara was besieged. The Countess being informed that the siege was carried on with great negligence, expedited quietly her little army, which, surprising the besiegers in the night, dispersed them, making many prisoners. A woman so celebrated as the Princess

* Bertold. Costantiensis in Chron. Landul. Senior. Hist. Mediol. lib. 4.

Matilda, and the mistress of so many states, was desired
in matrimony by many of the princes of Europe,
^{1088.} and among the rest, by Robert, son of the celebrated William, Duke of Normandy, called the conqueror, from the conquest which he afterwards made of the kingdom of England; but through the mediation of Pope Urban II., Matilda entered into a new marriage with Guelph V., a valorous prince, and son of Guelph IV. Duke of Bavaria. By this union the party of the Pope acquired additional strength; and Henry, after having laid waste the lands in Lorraine* which he possessed by inheritance from his mother Matilda, returned to Italy. The princess and her husband retired to a fortified city. Henry in the mean time took possession of Mantua; but if he often proved superior to his enemies in arms, they conquered him by resorting to artifice. The favourers of Matilda and Guelph attempted to excite discord between Henry and his son Conrad, to whom they proffered the crown of Italy, in order to induce him to rebel against his father†. The latter, apprized of their intentions, caused Conrad to be arrested, but having escaped from prison, and taken refuge
^{1093.} in the court of the Countess, he was sent to the pontiff, who absolved him from his allegiance; and having united in his favour many Italian princes, he was created King of Italy, and received the crown from the

* Doniz. Vita Mathild.

† The reports invented to slander Henry were most extraordinary. It was said, among other calumnies, that Henry, having put in prison the wife of Adelaide, permitted many to use violence toward her, and that he wished to force her own son to commit the same offence, who, upon refusal incurred the hatred of his father, &c.

Archbishop of Milan*. The latter measure had a powerful effect on the heart of Henry, who attempted to put himself to death. Nor did the artifices of Matilda stop here: in order to make him taste new bitterness, she secretly contrived the flight of his wife Adelaide, who, having escaped by her means from a prison in Verona, sought the protection of the Countess†, by whom she was instigated to present herself at the council of Plaisance, in the presence of two hundred bishops, and more than 30,000 of the laity. Before this numerous assembly Adelaide exposed the wrongs she had suffered, which failed not to be fully believed, although they might have been exaggerated. Conrad, the new king of Italy, met the pontiff on this occasion, to whom he promised the imperial crown, after exacting from him a solemn pledge that he would renounce the right of ecclesiastical investitures, which had been the principal subject of discord between the pontiff and Henry.

The ambitious Matilda had contracted with Guelph a marriage only of appearance. It has been already seen that even her first husband had probably been only so by name; and perhaps it was not difficult for Guelph to subject himself to this law, neither the beauty or the age of Matilda being such as to render her person peculiarly attractive‡. This had been merely a political marriage, from which both parties expected to derive advantage. The Duke of Bavaria had furnished Matilda with powerful support against Henry: Guelph, on the other side, had hopes of becoming heir to the states of his wife, the

* Landulph. Sen. His. Mediol.

† Doniz. Vita Matild. Ann. Sax.

‡ When she married Guelph she was in her forty-fourth year. Of her beauty none of her panegyrists make mention.

reversion of which had been secured to him at her death, by virtue of the marriage contract. But in this he was greatly deluded ; Matilda having, in the year 1077, made a secret donation of all her states to the pontifical seat. The power of her enemy Henry having ceased, a husband became burdensome to Matilda ; and Guelph, apprized of her secret donation, expressed his indignation at the manner in which he had been deceived. Meanwhile the unfortunate Henry, having retired into Germany, to revenge himself on Conrad, caused his second son to be elected king, and had the mortification of seeing even him seduced by his enemies, who, under the plea of religion ; succeeded in

1104. advising him to detach himself from an excommunicated father ; a German diet gave him the crown : the unfortunate father did not long survive this blow, and

1106. died in Liege at the age of fifty-six, after having passed the greater portion of his life midst civil tempests and the tumults of war. The valour of Henry cannot be denied ; yet this merit served only to inflame a despotic disposition, which the customs of those times were not calculated to diminish. He had the misfortune to have a formidable rival in the pontiff, Gregory VII. A mortal war took place between those princes, and both were equally the victims of their animosity. Gregory died almost deserted in Rome, after having witnessed the pillage of the city by his enemy. Amidst the conflicts of these rivals, Matilda, preserved her states and her power : she survived them a long time, and acquired the reputation of having quelled, at least in Italy, the faction of Henry. His unfortunate father had been already revenged by Matilda herself for the rebellion of Conrad, who enjoyed the fruit of his crimes for a short season. Although he is celebrated by the historians of

that age, and by the ecclesiastics, as a virtuous young man, and by one writer compared to an angel *, he did not preserve the favour of Matilda, who wishing to govern as a queen, became extremely jealous of his power as king of Italy : she respected him as long as he served to promote her designs ; but in proportion as the fear of his father ceased, her respect for the son diminished. He saw snatched from him by this ambitious woman even the slightest prerogatives of the Italian crown, and retired full of disgust to Florence, where he shortly ended his days. That he died of poison, which Matilda caused to be administered to him, has been conjectured from the wickedness of those times, but not demonstrated †. His brother was desirous of adding the crown of Italy to that of Germany ; and adopting the policy of his predecessors, led a powerful army into this unhappy country, which, from its fertility and riches, has too frequently attracted the avidity of foreigners, while its division into so many small powers, of different interests, has rendered it unable to present a uniform and compact force to resist invasion. The march of the young Henry into Italy was marked with desolation ‡: passing through Tuscany, he arrived in Arezzo, and finding the citizens divided into two parties, and disputing as to the site of a cathedral, he took upon himself the right of making the decision, which, not proving satisfactory to the contending parties,

* Uspergien.

† “ Cum pervenisset Florentiam rex ipse prudens, sapiens, et decorus facie (proh dolor!) adolescens, acceptâ potione ab Aviano Medico Mathildis. Comitissæ vitam finivit.” Landolfus. His. Mediolan.

‡ Pandulphus Pisanus in vita Pasch. He passed through Italy, pressing out blood and gold.

he razed a great part of the city to the ground*. Matilda, who gave umbrage to all the kings of Italy, and with whom all excited suspicion, retired into the fortress of Canossa, from whence she sent a deputation to compliment Henry; but a violent tumult occurred in Rome, where the latter had been affectionately received by the pontiff. After having mutually embraced and kissed each other, the pontiff called upon Henry to renounce the collation of ecclesiastical benefices, before bestowing upon him the imperial crown; and on his refusal to comply with this condition, a convulsion arose, in which the pontiff was arrested by the Germans; at that time the imperialists, and the Romans resorted to arms: various rencontres took place in consequence, and Henry left Rome, carrying with him the pontiff as a prisoner†, who, finally ceding his pretensions, was restored to liberty, and crowned Henry V. as Emperor.

The fame of the Countess Matilda had excited a high curiosity in the Emperor, and as she did not deem it prudent, while Italy was at the discretion of the imperial army, to leave her strong places in Lombardy, Henry determined to visit her in the fortress of Bibbianello, upon the Reggiano, where, received by Matilda with royal magnificence, he remained three days; and as the latter, among other languages, spoke also the German, he conversed with her without an interpreter, and, highly struck with the superiority of her talents, not only confirmed her in the possession of her states, but regarded her with filial respect, and, calling her by the

* Otto Frisingensis Chron. lib. 7.

† Usperg in Chron. Otto Frisingen. Pandulph. Pisan. in Vita Pasch.

name of mother, declared her vice-regent of Lombardy*. She maintained, during all the tempests which agitated Italy, a preponderating interest until her death, a year before which she had the happiness to recover the city of Mantua, which had rebelled from her since the year 1115. 1090. Finally, she terminated a life full of agitation and of glory. Alike distinguished for her piety and wisdom, her political dissimulation and artifice may be pardoned; and if the assertion of an ancient writer may be credited, she merited the appellation of protectress of letters†. Her name has been honoured by posterity, and in the seventeenth century Urban VIII. caused a magnificent mausoleum to be erected to her memory in the church of St. Peter.

* “Cui Liguri regni regimen dedit in vice regis, nomine quam matris verbis clavis vocitavit,” &c. Doniz. Vita Mathilde.

† Benven. da Imola Comm. di Dante.

CHAPTER VI.

REFLECTIONS UPON THE VICISSITUDES, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE PAST AGES.—JUDGMENTS OF GOD.—DUELS.—TRUCE OF GOD.—STATE OF ITALY IN THE TENTH CENTURY.—KNIGHTS ERRANT.—END OF THE FEUDAL GOVERNMENT.

FROM the ruin of the empire of the west to the end of the reign of the Countess Matilda, we have passed through six ages of misfortune for Italy: the Goths, Lombards, and Franks were alike distinguished for their ignorance and barbarity, and treated the conquered nations as herds of beasts. The melancholy history of these times presents one scene of desolation; and as we have observed in a former part of this volume, upon the assertion of a great historian*, there has never been a time in which a larger portion of the human race have lived more happily than for about a century after the establishment of the Roman empire; so another historian, equally celebrated†, has maintained that were we to search for a period in which a great part of mankind have been the most oppressed and unhappy, we should find it in the ruin of the Roman empire of the west, and after that epoch. In times of civilization, however cruel and atrocious war may prove, there are nevertheless certain limits beyond which the ferocity of nations, civilized by education, cannot extend. The Huns, Vandals, Goths, and Lombards knew no restraint: in their incursions they spared neither sex, age,

* Gibbon.

† Robertson, Introduction to the Life of Charles V.

or rank; those who resisted, and who did not resist, were equally cut to pieces; in the first fury of their invasions, cities were sacked and set on fire, the inhabitants made slaves*, and the country laid waste, in order that the wretched inhabitants, who had saved themselves in mountainous places, might perish from hunger; whole provinces were converted into deserts, and nations exterminated. Many provinces of the Roman empire more or less suffered from this scourge, too frequently followed by pestilence, and famine†, and some of them still feel the effects of it. The coast of Africa upon the Mediterranean, celebrated for the three hundred populous cities at the time of the Romans, was reduced on

* In the sacking of Rome by Genseric, shortly before the subversion of the empire, and forty-five years after that of Alaric, the city was still full of the first nobility and the most opulent persons; a great part of whom, deprived of all their wealth, were led as slaves into Africa. Nothing that had the appearance of gold or silver was spared by the Vandals; the statues were melted, and even the celebrated roof of metal which covered the capitol, the gilding of which and of the whole temple had cost five million of sequins, &c. *Donati, Roma Antiqua.*

† Consult Robertson's History of Charles V. introd. note 5, where we see too sorrowful proofs of our assertion. Also Murat. Ant. Ital. Dissert. 21, and Paul Diaconus, who, on the invasion of the Lombards, says, "Non erat tunc virtus Romanis ut resistere possent, quia et pestilentia plurimos in Liguria et Venetia extinxerat, et fames nimia ingruens universam Italiam devastabat." The most terrible plague in the annals of the human race, began in the year 543; it spread itself through all the then known world, lasted fifty-two years, and destroyed nearly the half of mankind. It had been preceded by five years of the most horrible dearth, in which Dario, Archbishop of Milan, who was a spectator, attests that many mothers devoured their own children. Procopius, himself, an ocular witness, asserts that in Piceno alone more than fifty thousand persons died, and that in the territory of Rimini two women, left alone in a house, devoured seventeen men, killing them at night, one by one.

the invasion of the Vandals, to a sandy desert; and Thrace, one of the most cultivated Roman provinces, shared a similar fate. We have seen how often Italy suffered from the irruptions of these barbarians. From that flourishing state, which, at the time of the Roman power, had rendered her the most cultivated and populous of countries, she had fallen into a state of the greatest misery, and presented a spectacle of ruined and burnt cities, the soil became covered with wild plants, the numerous wild beasts remained in quiet possession of the ruins, the waters of rivers, not being regulated, inundated a vast extent of territory*, by which the air was infected; indeed some lands are not yet recovered from the effects of this neglect which has continued to the present day, and particularly the neighbourhood of Rome once so smiling and so peopled†. The assertion of pope Gelasius that the human race was almost annihilated in Italy and Tuscany, although we may think it exaggerated, is expressive of the desolation of those times; nor are the words of an illustrious pontiff of the following century much different from it‡. The repeated inroads of so many barbarous nations which succeeded each other before the unfortunate inhabitants could have time to take breath, must in fact have reduced Italy to this wretched state. These barbarians however began finally to establish themselves; first the Goths, then the Lom-

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Disser. 21.

† Baron. Ann. 496. Gelas. Epist. ad Andronicum.

‡ S. Greg. (Mag. lib. 3. cap. 38, Dialog.) thus expresses himself: "Mox effera Longobardorum gens in nostram cervicem grassata est . . . depopulatæ urbes, eversa castra, concrematæ ecclesiæ, destructa monasteria virorum, ac feminarum, desolata prædia, atque ab omni cultura destituta in solitudine vacat terra, nullus hanc possessor habitat, occuparunt bestię loca quæ prius multitudo hominum tenebat."

bards came with their families to take possession of the territory, making use of it as their own*, enslaving the inhabitants, and making them work as beasts of burden. scarcely giving them necessary food. We have already seen what the feudal government was, and how grievous to the people, who, besides the horrible oppression they endured, were however very degenerate. *When we choose* (says one of these barbarians) *to give the most opprobrious name to an enemy we call him a Roman*†. Thus fortune, by a strange vicissitude, revenged these people for the contempt, in which they had been once held by the Romans. The life of these unhappy persons was valued less than that of beasts of burden, and in the shameful penal code of those times we find the life of a man fixed at a lower price than that of a hawk or a war horse: the manners were the most ferocious; at every page in history we meet with sovereigns, popes, ecclesiastics, poisoned, strangled, or stabbed; and what is still more revolting to a mind civilized by education, is the indifference with which such actions were received and even applauded by the most religious persons. A long list might be made of the assassins, poisoners, &c., but

* Sometimes not all the land was occupied, under Odoacer only the third part. It appeared strange and unjust to the pastor of Mantua (and it certainly was so) that a very small portion of Italian territory should be given to the veteran soldiers of Rome. (Virg. Ecl. I.)

O Licida, vivi pervenimus, advena nostris
 Quod nunquam veriti sumus, ut possessor Agelli
 Diceret: hæc mea sunt, veteres migrate coloni.

And this too was but a very small evil in comparison of the former.

† In hoc solo, id est, Romani nomine, quidquid ignobilitatis, quidquid timiditatis, quidquid avaritiæ, quidquid luxuriæ, quidquid mendacii, imo quidquid vitiorum est comprehendentes.—Luitprandii Legatio apud Murat. Script. Rerum Ital. vol. 2. par. 2.

a single fact will give an idea of the remainder. Maurice, the emperor of the east is described by contemporary writers as a wise and good prince: the usurper Phocas however caused his children and his brother to be put to death one by one before his eyes, and the unhappy father during this tragic spectacle could only offer up words of patience and resignation to the will of heaven*. And still (who would believe it?) a respectable pontiff, Gregory, rejoices at the ruin of Maurice†, and calls the reign of Phocas very happy. Nor did the profession of persons devoted to religion soften their fierceness. The bishops, the abbots, exercised the profession of arms, so well adapted to encourage that sanguinary character they had inherited from the age; we frequently find the patriarchs of Aquileia, the bishops of Cologne and Augsburg, the abbots of Fulda, and many others, at the head of an army wielding the sword better than they wore the gown; whence their atrocious actions, even in time of peace, do not excite our astonishment. A question little intelligible to the uninitiated in theology, upon the single or double will in Jesus Christ, had formed a division: and excited movements in the people who grow still warmer upon subjects they do not understand: the emperor Constantine had wisely prohibited disputes upon the questioned opinion. Not only did Martin V. send forth his fulminations against this wise decree, but the pontiff Theodore, repairing to the sepulchre of St. Peter, poured out some drops from the

* He exclaimed always, "Justus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum." Murat. Ann. d' Ital.

† He lifts up his hands to heaven, speaking to the wife of Phocas, "Quod tam dura longi temporis pondera cervicibus nostris amota sunt." And then turning towards Phocas himself, tells him "Quiescat felicissimis temporibus vestris universa respublica," &c.

consecrated cup into the inkstand, and wrote with this sacred ink the condemnation of the monothelites or assertors of a single wish*. Nor did Stephen VI. commit an act of less profanation towards Formoso his predecessor, a pontiff very much esteemed. The latter had the misfortune to have been in those times of faction of a sect inimical to Stephen. He was now dead and his ashes reposed in peace, but Stephen chose to vent his fury upon his body. Under the pretext of the too common and tolerated abuse of having passed from one bishopric to another, he ordered the body to be taken from the ground, and having publicly degraded it by a ridiculous ceremony, he directed it to be thrown into the Tiber, declaring all the ecclesiastical appointments made by him† as null and void. Shortly afterwards this same ferocious pontiff was himself put in prison, and strangled. It would be too tedious a task to furnish a list of the popes and antipopes who have made war upon and mutually put each other to death‡: nor can the decent historian defile his pen with the wickedness of the prostitutes Theodora

* Murat. Ann. d'Ital.

† We cannot do otherwise than exclaim,

. . . . Tantæ ne animis coelestibus iræ?

‡ Francone, a cardinal, causes Benedict VI. to be strangled, and himself elected pope; he is expelled and flies to Constantinople, after having despoiled the Vatican temple: having returned to Rome when John XIV. had been elected, he imprisoned him, and put him to death either by steel or poison. Benedict IX., having fallen into the hatred of the Romans for his dishonesty, thefts, and assassinations, is expelled, and Silvester III. elected; after three months, however, Benedict returns, Silvester is driven out, and the pontificate is afterwards sold to Gregory VI. The scandalous proceedings of the church in these times are recounted at length by Herman. Contra. Leo Ostiense Pope Vict. 3 dial. 3, &c.

and Marozia who made Rome and the Vatican infamous by creating popes, whose principal merit was their beauty of person*, or transmitted that august office as it were by inheritance to their dissolute descendants†. Not even the religious solitude of hermits was the abode of tranquillity and virtue. We frequently meet here not only with the intrigues of the age, but even sanguinary tragedies, whence we perceive, that the ferocious customs of the age‡ were not abandoned with the secular habits; nor must we wonder at it. Kings made a sale of bishoprics and abbeys, or gave them in command to princes and princesses; young men of an early age were seen decorated with the

* Luitprand relates that Marozia, enamoured with John, made him first Bishop of Bologna, then of Ravenna, and afterwards Pope John X.; and, subsequently imprisoned by the opposite party, he died of grief and ill usage.

† Octavian, son of Alberic and nephew of Marozia, caused himself to be elected pope at the age of eighteen, and turned the Vatican into a brothel.

‡ Let us give an example of it. Ralfred Abbot of Farfa is poisoned by two Monks, Campone and Hildebrand; these two villains disputed afterwards with money and arms for the dominion of that Abbey and of others depending upon it. Hildebrand having won the Marchigiani by money drives out Campone; the latter offers, however, a greater sum to them, and chases away Hildebrand. Campone remained master of the field of battle, had various sons and daughters, to whom he gave dowries from the purse of the monastery. Alberic, a seigneur of Rome, drove Campone away by force and sent an exemplary abbot, but the monks who chose to have no reform, poisoned him. Another Abbot, Adam, was sent by the son of Alberic, who, being accused of a rape bought his safety at a dear price of gold drawn from the estates of the monastery. This is only a small example of the facts which might be adduced, taken not from writers, enemies of Rome, but from the most holy and attached to the faith, as Muratori and others.

gown who were ignorant even of the first articles of the faith*. The chastity prescribed by the canons was little reconcileable with the age and with such customs. The scandalous life of the bishops and the rectors, who did not blush at publicly maintaining prostitute women, was almost necessarily tolerated, since when any restraint was wished to be put upon it, it gave rise to disputes capable of agitating the whole ecclesiastical body†.

The laws by which justice was administered were conformable to the barbarity of the times; before King Rotari we have seen habit, or rather the caprice of the judges, without any written laws decide upon the life and property of the people: he it was who began to fix this uncertain legislature by uniting the vague laws in one code, and forming at least a stable basis upon which judgments might be regulated: these laws savoured of the barbarous ignorance of the age. The decisions were already in use, so abusively called *Judgments of God*, because barbarous presumption made it believed God would suspend the order of nature at every nod by working a miracle. The trials were made in various ways; in cold water by immersing the accused and expecting that, if guilty, he would swim, the water refusing to receive him in its bosom; every one may see that the greatest villains were sure to be saved‡. More dangerous were the immersions of one hand in boiling

* See Otto, Bishop of Vercelli "de pressuris Ecclesiæ."

† Landulfus senior, Arnolphus Rerum Italic. tom. 1. 4. Murat. Ann. d'Ital. 1059.

‡ The specific gravity of the human body is greater than that of water, the difference, however, is very small; whence men have been found who swam naturally upon it, but they are mentioned very rarely, as for example, the celebrated Neapolitan priest.

water, walking over red-hot ploughshares, or across the flames; nevertheless we frequently find these dangerous trials carried into execution in face of the public with facility. It is not difficult for human genius, stimulated by necessity, to find out, on such important occasions some secret for bearing the fire: it was reported that the priests of Apollo passed without injury over burning charcoal*. The wise Varro explains to us the phenomenon† and if such an experiment were of as much importance in our days as in ancient times, I am certain that ingenious metaphysicians would have made this discovery, as we have already seen essays upon it‡.

* Plin. lib. 8. Super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduri dicebantur. See too Virgil's *Æneid* 11th, verse 785. The prayer of Arontes:

Summe Deum, et Sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo,
Pascetur, et medium, freti pietate per ignem
Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna, &c.

† See Varro, quoted by Servius in the above passage of Virgil:

Quod medicamento plantas tingerent.

Albert. Mag., lib. *de Mirabilibus*, mentions also the manner of touching fire without burning oneself. The extraordinary callosity of the skin may cause us to bear the contact of burning iron without pain. *V. Haller*, lib. XII. § 10. *Tactus*, where he mentions having seen the fluid glass of a furnace in the mountains of Basle touched with impunity; and there we see many authors quoted who assert the same, and particularly those who attest that at Siam and Malabar there are persons who walk upon lighted charcoal; upon the faith of Costeo also “de ignis medic præfer asserisce: Hibisci radice portulacæ et mercuriali. Succo manus ad metallum ferendum idoneas redde.”

‡ When the means of preserving buildings of wood from fire was discussed, Lord Mahon in England caused it to be seen that a sack of powder covered with a varnish of his invention thrown into the fire did not burn.—(*Rosier Journal de Physique*.) The most difficult trial appears to have been that of passing between two

To trials so strange and fallacious, the probity, the faith, the wealth of the most important men, the honour of the most respectable nations, and of queens themselves, were exposed. Duelling was another of these cruel trials. The woman produced a champion, who, if beaten, she was condemned without mercy. These experiments were approved, not by the vulgar alone, but the ecclesiastics, since both the forms and rites of these judgments were found in their missals and rituals*. The weakness of the government was obliged to tolerate private wars: in the midst of populous cities the ferocious inhabitants, like savages in a state of nature, assumed the right of vindicating by force their mutual injuries. The citizens, therefore, walked with arms in various groups, and every moment the streets were stained with blood by their contentions. Custom, together with the

piles of burning wood: and therefore we have but few examples and for the most part unsuccessful, as in the year 1102, in Milan, in the year 1098, in Antioch, to prove the authenticity of the lance with which Jesus Christ was wounded. And in fact, except in the cases in which from the circumstances which have accompanied them it has visibly appeared that Providence chose to manifest his wish as, besides various others, in that of St. Peter called afterwards Ignés Vallombrosano, who passed across two piles of burning wood to prove that the bishop Teutone had been elected simoniacally, (a trial made by order of S. Gio. Gualbert in Florence,) infinite are the cases in which many impostors have availed themselves of unlawful means to feign miracles and profane religion. And although some of them may have succeeded, every one sees how the natural manner even may be shewn of causing the pretended miracles to happen, without the divine power lending its aid to authenticate such rash experiments.

* Murat. *Antich. Ital. diss.* 38. At a diet held in Verona, anno 987, it was decided that whenever there should arise a doubt upon a legal document recourse should be had to duelling: in this diet were many ecclesiastics.

impotence of the laws had sanctioned such a barbarity *; as, however, the exercise of public and private affairs was interrupted by this continual war, religious charity and common interest invented the celebrated *Truce of God*, almost generally received; whereby it was ordained there should be a truce from Thursday to Monday, during which time no person could assault his enemy †, but in the other days the field was open to civil battles. In the mean time the interested ecclesiastics made superstitious ignorance believe that the best work by which crimes could be expiated and eternal life gained, was to give their wealth to the monasteries; and in those ages and by this maxim they greatly enriched themselves. Frequently various monasteries disputed for the same prey with shameful contention ‡. At another time they spread a belief the end of the world was approaching, particularly at the close of the tenth century; whence many rich and ignorant persons, in order to gain heaven, gave their whole to the monas-

* V. Pier. Damiani, lib. 4. Epist. 17., and elsewhere.

† Landulfus senior, lib. 2. cap. 30. “Quatenus omnes homines ab hora prima Jovis ad primam horam die lunæ cujuscumque culpæ forent, sua negotia agentes permanerent: et quicumque hanc legem offenderet videlicet Trequam Dei in exilio damnatus, &c., at qui eandem servaverit ab omnium peccatorum vinculis absolvatur, &c.” This passage deserves reflection; from which we learn the strange customs of the times, and the universal belief that whoever submitted to this sacred law might without scruple in the other days kill his enemy, and nevertheless having observed the truce “ab omnium peccatorum vinculis absolvetur.” Various councils, and the popes Urban II., Pascal II., and Innocent II. confirmed the Truce of God.

‡ See the Dissertation 67 Antich. Ital. of Muratori, in which thirteen motives are adduced for the immense riches of the ecclesiastics.

teries*. As the lords of those times were overbearing and cruel, it is easy to suppose that many rich villains upon their death-bed would have recourse to the expedient they thought the most easy to expiate their atrocious crimes, by leaving to the church the riches which nature obliged them to abandon.

It must not be denied, that some holy ecclesiastic†, some wise sovereign‡, did not declaim against such abuses, but without correcting them. But what painted the brutality of the times in the most vivid colours was the traffic made of men like beasts of burden. Prisoners of war, and persons on the sea, who had the misfortune to meet with ships, the masters of which, without war being declared against any, carried it on with all where opportunity offered itself to rob, were

* Many of these donations have for principle, "Pro remedio animæ suæ, others "adventante mundi termino."

† See Epistle of S. Jerome "ad Rusticum," &c. and in the Epitaph of Nepos, "alii nummum addunt nummo, et matronarum opes venantur obsequiis: sunt ditiores monachi quam sæculares."

‡ See Capitolari di Carlo Magno, ann. 811. "Inquirendum est si ille sæculum dimissum habeat, qui quotidie possessiones augere quolibet modo qualibet arte non cessat, suadendo de cœlestis regni beatitudine; comminando de supplicio inferni, et sub nomine Dei, aut cujuslibet sancti, tam divites, quam pauperes, qui simplicioris naturæ sunt, si rebus suis expoliant, et legitimos eorum hæredes exhæreditant: ac per hoc plerosque ad flagitia et scilera propter inopiam, ad quam per has fuerunt devoluti perpetranda compellunt; ut quasi necessaria furta et latrocinia exerceant, cui paternarum rerum hæreditas, ne ad eum perveniret ab alio prærepta est." And below "Quid de his dicendum qui quasi ad amorem Dei, et sanctorum, sive martyrum, sive confessorum ossa et reliquias sanctorum corporum de loco ad locum transferunt; ibique novas Basilicas construunt, et quoscumque potuerunt ut res illic tradant instantissime adhortantur."

taken and sold as slaves. The Venetians themselves carried on this odious traffic, feeling no reluctance at selling the unfortunate Christians to the Jews and Saracens*. And what is more; the cruel fathers themselves, not unlike the African negroes, sold their own children, to redeem themselves from the penalty of tributes. The country parts of Italy were so full of robbers, that travellers were obliged to unite in caravans, as in the deserts of Arabia. Customs so ferocious, so dissolute, and brutal, in all ranks of persons, were accompanied by the most stupid ignorance. All nations were probably at one time savage; but since the existence of historical documents, we have no account of such profound ignorance in Italy as in the ages we have mentioned. The barbarous conquerors attached a degree of shame and degradation to the culture of letters, by asserting that sciences tend to corrupt, unnerve, and debase the mind; and that those who are accustomed to tremble under the whip of the pedagogue, will not dare to look with intrepid eye upon a lance or a sword†. Many of the greatest sovereigns and principal ministers could neither write nor read‡; and in the most important affairs were accustomed to put the sign of the

* Murat. *Antiq. Ital. diss.* 30.

† Procop. *de Bello Goth. lib.* 1. Voltaire has made Loredano speak the language of his age. (*Tancredi*, atto 1. sc. 1.)

Combien des citoyens aujourd'hui prévénus
Pour ces arts séduisants que l'Arabe cultive,
Arts trop pernicious; dont l'éclat les captive,
A nos vrais chevaliers noblement inconnus.

‡ In the ninth century, Herband, comes Palatii, although supreme judge of the empire, did not know how to write his name. (*Traité de diplomatie par deux Benedictins.*) Theodoric, one of the greatest kings, although passionately fond of learned men, could not write his name. The same is suspected of Charles the Great. What shall we say of the rest?

cross in lieu of a signature. The very clergy, with whom the little knowledge of these dark ages was to be found, for the most part, vied in ignorance with the Seculars; and often unable to affix their signature to the acts of councils, of which they were members*: and it became necessary at times to suspend them from their functions, on account of their ignorance†. It must not be denied, that there were some learned fathers of the church, even in these times; but however they may have been superior to their age, they betray a tint of barbarism in their style, and are like scanty and weak lights in a desert of darkness. Pavia, which was the seat of the Lombard kingdom, and where consequently persons of the greatest genius and education were assembled; Rome, the capital of the ecclesiastical kingdom, and where the study of dogmas and of the Latin tongue, consecrated already to religion, was introduced,—were the cities indeed the most learned: but what learning‡? Gregory II. sending his legates to the sixth Ecumenic Council, who also were chosen from the most learned, clearly speaks of their ignorance, not only of good letters, but even of the Holy Scriptures§. All the knowledge of Pavia was confined to the study of grammar, of

* One of the questions put to whoever sought ecclesiastical orders was, if he could read the gospel. An author of this age, with a style worthy of him, thus reproaches the clergy: "*Potius dediti gulæ, quam glossæ, potius colligant libras quam legunt libros, libentius intuentur Martham, quam Marcum, malunt legere in Salmone, quam in Salamone.*" Alanus de Arte pudicandi, apud Lebeuf.

† Concil. Rom. ann. 826.

‡ If any of the clergy preached to the people, he availed himself, knowing how to read, of the ancient sermons that existed in the churches. Murat. diss. 42. Antiq. Ital.

§ Murat. diss. 42. Antiq. Ital.

which Flavian is celebrated by Paul the deacon as a very great professor, and uncle of his master; but even this science was in such decay, that the writings are rendered almost unintelligible from their grammatical incorrectness*. If such ignorance reigned in Rome and Pavia, every one may conceive the darkness that covered the rest of Italy. Let us for a moment consider two important reflections: the first offers us the consolation, that we have been reserved to live in less unhappy times; and shews us the error of those, who, blaming the present, praise the ancient as a golden age, whilst they are ignorant of its errors: the second discovers to us the greatest unhappiness of nations, actions the most wicked, customs the most ferocious and brutal, united with the most profound ignorance of sciences and letters; a fact which is the most eloquent answer to the detractors of knowledge, who must be always numerous, since it is the greatest consolation of the ignorant to suppose sciences and letters prejudicial to morality. The paradox, maintained with so much ingenuity by the philosopher of Geneva, is belied by observation; by which, and not by subtle reasonings, questions must be decided. But following our detail, the history of human vicissitudes shews us that there is a final limit both in good and evil, to which when things arrive they must retrocede. Already the repeated acts of oppression which foreigners and the native princes exercised over

* A fragment of a letter of the Pope Adrian II., referred to by Mabillon in the Appendix to his *Diplomacy*, is full of incredible incorrectness. We find therein the expressions, "*eorumque novissimis suvolis, ut inter eos dissentio fiat, et divisio inveniantur:*" "*Una cum Judicium:*" "*Una cum omnes benebentari:*" "*Aut tam de recipiendi eos quamque de nostro misso, una cum nostrum Judicium.*"—Thus the pope, or his secretaries, wrote in Rome.

the miserable nations of Italy, began to excite symptoms, the forerunners of a movement destined to end in a memorable revolution. Oppression disheartens nations; but when exercised too severely drives them to despair, which finally excites a courage capable of any thing. The passage of the emperors through Italy was wont to be marked with one track of desolation; which, frequently repeated, roused the sensibility of the Italians, and produced very sanguinary scenes. Already under Henry, on this account, after a furious rencontre between the imperial soldiery and the citizens, Pavia had been almost entirely destroyed; and in the passage through Italy of the Emperor Conrad, his soldiers had come to blows with the citizens of Ravenna; and at his coronation in Rome, a fierce battle had ensued between the Romans and the former. Parma, by the same motive, was dismantled and sacked by the soldiers of Conrad II.; nor was there any passage of foreign troops (and these were very frequent) without the cities and lands being desolated, the women dishonoured, and the country inundated with blood. If the temporary vexations of foreigners were grievous, the domestic were rendered still more intolerable, because they were perpetual. Italy was, according to the Gothic system, governed by many dukes and marquises, who all depended upon the King of Italy and the emperor; but, in fact, they only acknowledged the supremacy when force obliged them, and did so as independent sovereigns. These principalities were divided again into smaller fractions of sovereignty, governed by inferior lords, obliged to depend upon the duke or principal marquis, from whom they originally received this small feud. These lords, in imitation of their principals, constituted themselves, when they had the power, into independent sovereigns. Be-

sides this hierarchy of princes, whose legal and natural existence was to have a place in that system, the emperors, excited by greediness of money, had created many others of a new description. By that supreme right, of which they thought themselves in possession, they detached from the dominion or dependance of some city, a portion of territory, a mountain, a rock, or a precipice, and granted to whoever paid them for it the rights of feudal lord*, who fortifying himself in it, and thinking himself a sovereign, exercised the right of sovereignty over the few wretched persons who had the misfortune to inhabit that tract of country. But, as the exercise of this authority would not have satisfied them, they put themselves at the head of whatever bullies they had the means of maintaining, and scoured the country: thus ennobling the trade of assassin, rich travellers were despoiled, often imprisoned, and obliged to pay a large ransom. The tale of Ghino of Tacco, is only a fable as far perhaps as it concerns the Abbot of Clugny†. Italy in the mean time was covered with a crowd of lords, or little tyrants, who acknowledged no other code for

* To distinguish them from the others they were called *Comites Pagani*. They are also called *Castellani*. Mur. Ant. Ital.

† Decamer. Giornata 10. Nov. 2. Among the others Nicolo, Marquis d'Este, on a journey was taken by the Castellan of San Michael. Azzolino, bishop of Sienna, returning from the court of the pope at Avignon, was made prisoner at Mantua by Charles Grimaldi, and obliged to pay 500 florins of ransom. Janus of the Alberti, Count of Monte Carelli, robbed travellers with his ruffians; being taken along with them by the Florentines, his head was cut off and his associates hanged. Thus the same Florentines dismantled the castle of Monteboni, because the lords who had given it the name arrested the merchants and made them pay heavy taxes: they recalled to their duty also the Count Ugghieri: the Counts of Cutaldo, of Figline of Mangona, &c.

governing their subjects, than that of caprice or violence. The solitary life they led in their castles surrounded by brutal rabble, the profound ignorance of the times did not render them sensible to the stimulus of honour and compassion, and in vain did religion either preach obedience, or terrify them with future punishments*. The celebrated knight-errants, so much ridiculed by those who have not well understood the institution and its duties, served sometimes as a check to the ferocity of these illustrious assassins and chastised their crimes. Greedy of glory and of arduous enterprises, they had sworn in girding on the sword to protect innocence oppressed, to revenge wrongs, and it was frequently their fortune to exterminate from the earth several of these monsters. These ages, from the cruelty of the little despots, and the illustrious actions of knight-errants, much resemble the heroic age of Greece; and Hercules and Theseus, and so many other heroes, may be called the knight-errants of ancient times. But a government so unjust and violent could not last: popular sufferance has its limits, nor was it difficult to ruin a despotism founded upon so unstable a basis. The feudal government was a hydra with a thousand heads and few arms. Jealousies, rivalities, different interests must naturally have divided this crowd of little sovereigns into various parties, kept them always at war, and shewn the people, even brutalized as they were, the weakness of their rulers, and the facility of freeing themselves from the yoke. Circumstances became continually more propitious to this revolution. There were intervals, in which the superior

* In the archives of the chapter of the canons at Modena there is found a sacramentario of Gregory the Great, written in the ninth or tenth age, wherein is read "Missa contra Tyrannos." Murat. Antiq. Ital. diss. 46.

force which should have kept these members united, was strangely weakened: this took place particularly after the death of Otho II. In the Chronicle of the kings of Italy* this time is described, as an interregnum, in which superior force was without activity: and during the infancy of Otho III. the Italian cities had leisure to shake off the yoke of the emperors and kings.—Arrived at the age of manhood, Otho III. came to Italy and endeavoured to reduce the rebellious cities to obedience; dying, however, in the year 1002, without progeny, two kings of Italy, Henry and Arduin contended for the possession, a contention very favourable to the rising liberty of the Italian cities. These contentions were succeeded afterwards by one more tedious, and more tempestuous between the clergy and the empire, which relaxed still more the ties of dependance which bound the Italian cities to their rulers, and gave them leisure to shake off the yoke entirely. Such a revolution, however, is only slowly to be brought about. In some kingdoms the principal sovereign has set on foot a stable and regular militia that not only has rendered him independent in urgent cases, of his powerful vassals, but has given him time to hold them in rein, and finally to deprive them of their abusive prerogatives. In other countries, as in Italy, particular cities armed themselves, and by driving out or paying no regard to their despots established a republican government: some of these more quietly obtained from the emperors, either gratuitously or by gold, the privilege of governing themselves: whilst others, finally, of the feudal governments have remained until our times, as Poland for instance, and there is still a vestige of it in Germany. Respecting the other smaller

* Tom. 2.

feudal lords who reigned in castles, or on mountainous rocks, in proportion as the regular governments took footing they were in a great part destroyed, and a few of them still remain, deprived for the most part of their privileges.

In this general movement of Italy for liberty, fanatic enthusiasm, however it may be adapted to make efforts of valour because it is blind to danger, is for the same reason incapable of cold deliberation, transported the minds of men beyond just limits to a kind of intemperance of liberty. Thinking themselves more free as far as they were more independent one of the other, the Italian cities not only established themselves each in a single and isolated republic, but all the towns and even the small boroughs frequently divided themselves into so many republican fractions not larger than San Marino*. This operation would have been the same as if the inhabitants of cities who were once savages, and yielded a part of their natural liberty to enjoy the advantages of civil society and become citizens, should at an instant renounce those rights for love of liberty and return to the forest. Savages carry on a continual war with each other : so did the crowd of republics with which Italy was covered, whose divided interests kept them always under arms. That same intemperance of liberty, by agitating the spirits of the same republic, rendered them disobedient to the same laws which they had made, and divided them into many parties. This reasoning is proved by facts. Florence, Pisa, Lucca, Sienna, Pistoia, Arezzo, Cortona, were often stained by civil contentions. In Lombardy the same fatal vicissitudes took place. The unfortunate people, after long agitations and sanguinary contests,

* For example, Poggibonsi was a republic.

knowing how unhappy they were in the democratic constitution finally sought for repose under the government of one alone. Thus Milan reposed under Azzo Visconte *; Modena and Reggio under Obizo d'Este, and the Paduans under Jacob of Carrara, &c. The cities of our Tuscany were more obstinate and therefore subjected to longer convulsions. The greatest of metaphysicians has demonstrated † what power mere words have upon the opinions of mankind, and how pernicious is their abuse. There is nothing more vague, or more abused than the words *liberty* and *equality*. Civil liberty consists in nothing more than obeying a wise legislation vigorously carried into execution, whereby every one is at liberty to do what the laws do not forbid. As, however, a geometrical equality is certainly impossible among citizens, true equality consists in all being equally subjected to the laws, so that they may act upon the rich and powerful, as upon the weak and the humble, with the same impartial force: this is true equality; every other is chimerical. Whether the problem is solved more easily in a republic or a monarchy, the history we are now writing will be judge; it will be a school, in which the discerning reader may fix the good or evil of democracy or a monarchical government. All the more subtle and learned researches upon the nature of governments are useless: in politics, as in philosophy, we must finally appeal to experience. If we see the republics, turbulent and agitated; if the massacre, the exile of their citizens are

* Calvaneus Flamma. "Prima lex fuit, quod omnes civitatis sibi subjectæ absque omni personarum acceptione suis civibus essent habitatio tutissima, et istius sanctissimæ legis inceptor fuit illustris miles Azo Vice Comes, ob cujus meritum possidet Paradisum."

† Locke, on Human Understanding.

almost continual, and their lives never secure ; whilst, on the contrary, we find a long calm in the monarchy, the question will be decided by experience. History being the mistress of life, it is necessary to contemplate the events which we are about to relate, not as mere narrations but as instructive lessons.

OF
THE ART OF WAR
IN THE LOWER AGES.

IN the frequent wars, which took place after the establishment of the republican constitution between the Italian and Tuscan cities, operations are often described which are little understood because historians have not given themselves the trouble to explain the Art of War of those ages, and the warlike instruments in use. For the better elucidation of our future History we will give a brief account of them.

During the times of feudal oppression all subjects were obliged to take up arms at the nod of their sovereign; ecclesiastics were not excepted without a particular privilege, and since the profession of arms was the most honourable, the bishops and abbots rarely requested to be exonerated from it, but were ambitious of the distinction which military valour afforded them; thus seeking to unite ecclesiastical opulence with military renown. The canonical laws in vain forbade them the exercise of arms; whoever obeyed them became an object of ridicule, like any person in our own days who would quote the civil laws in order to avoid a duel*.

* The pious abbot Ermoldo Nigello, forced to take arms in spite of his coat, sacredly boasts of not having wounded any one, and

Under the feudal government the nerve of the troops consisted in the cavalry, composed of nobility who felt an interest in conquest, and a stimulus to distinguish themselves; whilst the infantry, composed for the most part of a miserable mob, who perceived little glory, and felt no interest in victory, fought with little energy. For many ages, even after the overthrow of that government, the cavalry continued to form the principal strength of the army. The horsemen who were admirably equipped, took the field with numerous horses led by their esquires and pages*; and at different periods have received the names of lancers, men of arms, &c. The history, however, of the nations most skilled in this art shews us that the best troops have been always infantry; that the Macedonian phalanx and Roman legion were able to oppose and break through numerous squadrons of the Persian and Parthian cavalry. This description of troops maintained the superiority until the times of the great Consalvo of Cordova, who, changing his tactics in the wars of Italy, formed that celebrated Spanish and Italian infantry, superior to the cavalry, which was for a long period the glory of the Spanish

carried a proof of it upon his shield, for which he was much laughed at.

Hoc egomet scutum humeris ensemque revinctum

Gessi, sed nemo me feriente dolet.

Peppin hæc aspiciens risit, miratur, et inquit,

Cæde armis frater, litera amato magis.

De Reb. Gest. Ludov. Pii, p. 2. tom. 2, Rer. Ital. Script.

* At the right of the esquires was conducted the noble horse of battle, with no one on his back, in order that he might be the more fresh in time of need, whence the name of *Dextrarii* and afterwards *Destrieri*: the cavalier in the mean time rode a horse of inferior value which was called *palafreno* or *ronzino*.—Mur. Diss.

nation, and proved invincible for two ages down to the battle of Rocroi*.

The military force of the Italian cities, become republics, experienced various fortunes. Even the citizens armed themselves to maintain their liberty, or animated by the frenzy of party, formed courageous corps capable of opposing the best imperial soldiery, who were frequently defeated under a brave emperor, and particularly at the celebrated battle of Legnano (an. 1176) in Lombardy, by which the power of Frederic I. in Italy was greatly humbled. Even in Tuscany the sanguinary battles of Monte Aperti, and of Campaldino, prove the obstinate valour with which the citizens fought; but no sooner did they neglect the profession of arms† by taking mercenaries into their pay, than wars became scandalous and ridiculous. The captains of these mercenaries either would not fight in order that they might maintain their troops entire, or were easily corrupted by the enemy; the troops united with them, formed either of mob or country people neither inured to arms nor danger, shamefully took to flight at the first onset; and Machiavel laughs with reason at these feats of arms, which sometimes lasted for several hours, the soldiers fighting at a distance without the loss of a single individual.

When the citizens began to disdain the profession of arms, they made themselves dependant upon the conductors, (*condottieri*,) who for nearly two ages in Italy were as celebrated for their treachery as their valour.

* After much decay in its discipline, it was defeated in this battle, and ruined by the great Condé.

† *Ammir. Ist. Fior.* During the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth, the troops of the Italian cities were brave, because composed of citizens; after this time they began to decline.

They put their soldiers up to auction selling them to the highest bidder, and it did not unfrequently happen that a body of troops, who were enemies to the Florentines or Milanese, gained by money, fought for them. These troops lived only by war: in times of peace they united under one head; sacked peaceable countries, and exacted from the richest cities heavy contributions. These bands of robbers were called companies. Thus Lodrisio Visconte, Malerba, and Duke Guarnieri, in the fourteenth century, did much injury to Italy, and the most powerful cities did not disdain to receive their laws, and pay them a shameful tribute. The meanness of the Italians in tolerating them is discovered in the facility with which they might have destroyed them; since the peasantry alone of Mugello, as we shall see in the course of this History, nearly annihilated one of the greatest of those companies*.

After the decline of the Roman tactics, the arms of offence and defence of the soldier were often changed. We have seen that the Romans themselves in the time of Gratian threw off their iron armour, put on by the robust warriors of the north, and afterwards, according to the effeminacy or hardiness of the Italians, by turns abandoned and put on again. Sometimes the iron was changed into leather, and the Corian armour has probably given name to the corazza† or breastplate. The weight of the iron shields has been lightened by making them of wood, of leather, or osier, and the different forms have given rise to the names of target, buckler, wheel, small buckler, pavice‡: the swords sometimes

* Matteo. Vill. Cronic. † Mur. Diss. 26.

‡ The shields of Pavia, quadrates in form.—Aulici Ticinen de Laud. Papiæ. In the mock wars, the Pavians had shields of osier. See the same author in the above dissertation, where he learnedly

shortened have taken the name of rapiers (*stocchi**) . The bow and the cross-bow gave name to the archers and cross-bowmen. The former threw out darts smaller than the arrows, (*quadrelli*,) muskets, (*moschetti*,)† or short and sharp darts (*verratoni*) thrown from the cross-bows ; but the velocity compensated for the smallness of the arms‡. Some cross-bows were so large, that it became necessary to discharge them with the foot ; and for this purpose there was a stirrup attached to the cord. A light and irregular troop used to precede the army, scour and lay waste the country : these were called *gualdane*§. Wounders (*feditori*) were those who began the battle. They were generally of the best troops : the issue of the fight depended upon them ; since when the first rank was put out of order, the remainder of the army was frequently thrown into confusion. We will now take a view of the machines for attacking and defending the cities. Unfortunately for mankind, the cruel trade of war has been interrupted only by very short intervals, at least since we have his-

remarks, that even the ancients had shields of osier, by testimony of Vegetius.—*Scuta de vimine in modum cratium rotundata tenebant.* The small buckler (*brocchiere*) was probably a shield, which had in the middle a spouton, or kind of half pike, to strike or ward off the enemies' arms.

* *Pugionibus uti cœperunt ensibus obsoletis.* Frater Pipinus in chron. Rer. Ital. script. tom. 9.

† Muskets, (*moschetti* or *moschette*) were a kind of darts.—Mur. Diss.

‡ Villani, lib. 2. cap. 66.—When the Genoese darted out an arrow from the cross-bow, these threw out three from their bows.

§ *Corridor vidi per la terra vostra*
O Aretini, e vidi gir gualdane, &c.

Dante, canto 22, Inf.—Probably the poet saw this spectacle, when, after the rout of Campaldino given to the Aretines, the Florentine army laid waste the territory of that city.

torical documents. It is, therefore, easy to imagine, that the instruments of destruction in use with the Greeks and Romans have never been lost. Military discipline may have been altered: the courage, together with the Greek and Roman tactics, may have been lost: but the various machines for attacking and defending towns must be handed down from generation to generation, with the change probably only of the name. Thus the battering ram, (*l'ariete*)—the wild ass, (*l'onagro*)—the engines, (*catapulte*)—and those for casting stones, (*balliste*). The towers put in work by the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, have been transmitted to later times under the names of cranes, or cross-bows, (*manganelli*,) destructions, (*trabocchi*,) &c.; and only the terrible invention of artillery is the cause of their being forgotten. The fortified towns were frequently surrounded by double walls: after the first inner wall there was another lower enclosure, made probably to hinder the action of the battering ram against the former*. A ditch, where this was possible, full of water, and a pallisade extended before the second line of wall: upon the walls there were many towers, the body of which projected, to afford an opportunity of striking the assailants on the flank. The frequent inroads of the barbarians had made it necessary to choose the most mountainous places for the situation of their towns and castles; so that Italy became almost a wood of towns and fortresses, especially in the mountains, where art was assisted by nature. In the cities, the continual suspicions arising from factions had converted the houses into fortified castles: there were few of any note without towers, which made a display of architecture†; and hence the ten thousand towers which

* It was called outward wall, (*barbacane* or *antemurale*).

† Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib. 2.

Benjamin of Navarre reckoned in Pisa do not much excite our astonishment. Castles or bastions* of wood or stone, for offence and defence, were built around the walls, the towers, upon the banks of a river, upon a hill, or wherever the ground was thought most adapted to the purpose. The *battifolli*† were nearly the same thing, and contained rooms for lodging infantry and cavalry. The terrible *catapulta* of the ancient Greeks and Romans, which hurled such enormous weights, is not clearly described by ancient historians. The celebrated commentator of Polybius‡ has guessed at the construction§, although in many instances his imagination has not compensated for the defects of history. By means of elastic ropes, made particularly of catgut, and even of horsehair, twisted upon beams, a cylinder of wood appears to have been projected, upon the top of which there was a large basin, in which they placed the materials that were to be ejected; freed from the tension, the cylinder shot like a bow, throwing enormous masses to an immense distance§. The *balista*, different in its construction from the *catapulta*, produced the same effect: perhaps it was a very large cross-bow, (*balestra*,) as its name indicates, formed of a large cylinder of elastic matter, which being extended by means of some machine, could eject very heavy substances. Those which, in the lower ages, were called *mangano*, *trabocco*, *asino*||, *troja*, *volpe*, &c., could not greatly differ from these two machines. We even infer from some obscure description, that in the *mangano*

* Thence the name of bastions.

† Villani considers the *bastie* and *battifolli* the same thing.

‡ Il Cav. di Folard.

§ The figure of it is seen in the notes to Polybius of Cav. Folard.

|| Also the ancients had the *onager*.

there was a sling or cross-bow*: this machine, therefore, must have much resembled the ancient *balista*; and, in fact, very heavy masses were hurled with it†. Large animals, such as horses and asses, were often thrown by way of contempt into the besieged towns‡. With the *trabocchi*, although of different construction from the *mangano*, they also threw out immense stones. Ezze-lino made use of these in the siege of the tower of Este§; and in the annals of Modena, one of these machines|| is described as very large. In order to break the force of the masses thrown from the *mangani*, they made use of nets of large ropes or cloths, or a kind of lattice-work, extended before the towers: thence the origin of the *crates*, the hurdles, or *gatti*¶, under which same machines the sol-

* Instrum. de Resignat. Castri fumonis, si trova: funda de Manganello.—Mur. Antiq. Ital. Diss. 26.

† In the Genoese Annals of Stella, anno 1372, is mentioned a *troga*, which threw out masses of the weight of twelve to eighteen cantara, that is to say 2,700 pounds. The *mangano* is called in Latin *balearica machina*, which shews that there was a kind of sling, for which the inhabitants of the Baleari were celebrated.

Extruitur miræ balearica machina motis

Quæ valido longum transverberat æra jactu.—GUNT. lib. 3.

‡ Frequent is the expression of historians—were thrown out asses. After the defeat of Campaldino, the Florentines, in order to mock the Bishop of Arezzo, Guglielmino, killed in that battle, having come to besiege the city, threw out by the *mangano* an ass, with a mitre on his head, as will be mentioned in its place.

§ Rolandinus.

|| “Trabuccum mutinensium, qui factus fuerat in platea communis mutinæcujus postica erat quantum sex paria boum ducere poterant.”

¶ *Gatti*, by mistake, were taken by the academicians of the Crusca for instruments to beat the walls; they were only a cover and defence.—Berni Orb. Innam.

Gatti tessuti di vinco e di legno.

Huc faciunt reptare catum tectique sub illo

Suffodiunt muros.—GUILIELM. Brito. lib. 7.

diers advanced to batter the wall. The formidable battering ram of the ancients had never gone out of fashion. Sometimes it was conducted upon cars, driven against them; but oftener this long and large beam, with its iron point, was suspended floating in the air, and, being made to dangle, was hurled forcibly against the walls: the loosened stones were afterwards made to fall with crooked perches, which were like one of the many kinds of cars of the ancients*. Another instrument not well known is spoken of by Gottfred, of Viterbo, called a mole†, (*talpa*,) adapted to excavate ground subterraneously, and remove the foundation from the walls so that they fell down: it is certain these kind of mines were made use of, and that the miners advanced under ground towards the walls; counter-mines were also in fashion, that is, they endeavoured to find out the subterraneous road, which was done by excavating obliquely one or more uncovered trenches which might lead to the discovery ‡. Hooks for twisting round the combatants,

As sometimes under this cover, or as it may be *gatto*, motion was given to the battering ram, with which the walls were shaken; thence may have arisen the confusion of the one with the other.—Veget. lib. 4. cap. 15. “*Vincas dixerunt veteres, quas nunc militari barbaroque uso cattsos vocant.*—Aimonius apud Du-change. *Erant carri vimineis catibus tabulisque lignaïs, in quibus latentes milites fundamenta suffoderent murorum.*”

* Folard. in Polibio.

† It is called *talpa cavans arces*.

‡ Read a passage of Matteo Villani, lib. 2. c. 30. “The leaders of the host with great expense and labour conducted a subterraneous cave to knock down the walls of the Scarperia, and provided those within with means of getting out of the ditches to find the cave of their enemies before they arrived at the walls; but their adversaries used great endeavours to draw them away from this work and hinder their miners, who, working with great diligence,

and pulling them down from the walls, were much in vogue, as well as iron thistles or thorns to throw in the fields, to injure or obstruct the cavalry. There was also a kind of Friesland horse, or large pieces of wood of a triangular figure, which, turned upon any side, remained straight, were put together in a moment and formed a sufficient rampart*. Among the most dangerous machines for besieged cities were the turrets of wood; these were very high, of a proportionate breadth, and raised above the walls and full of combatants, the besieged working at every elevation, at times fighting on a level with those who stood upon the walls; at times showering upon them stones and darts from on high, giving impulse to the undulating ram: a part of the upper side of the tower was suddenly detached from the top, and wheeling upon the hinges to which it was attached, was lowered and extended upon the walls, forming a bridge over which the most daring entered the city. The ancients made use of it: the tower of Demetrius, called Helepolus, is well known†, and at the siege of Marseilles the towers used by Cæsar were of so disproportionate a size that the Gauls, ignorant of the assistance mechanical genius affords, considered the Romans more than men, because they moved such enormous machines with so

arrived at the cave of their enemies, which was brought forward one hundred and eighty arms and near the walls twenty arms, where they drove away the miners and spoilt their work."

* Nicolaus de Tamsilla *Rer. Ital. script.* t. 8, p. 565, speaking of Manfredi king of Sicily. "Facta sunt de ingenio Marchionis Bertholdi quædam lignea instrumenta triangolata sic artificiose composita quod de loco in loco leviter ducebantur, et semper ex uno capite erecta stabant: his instrumentis exercitus se circumcinxit, et vallavit, ut non facile posset ex illâ parte irrumpi.

† Folard. in Polib.

much celerity*. Among the immense towers, seen in the times of which we are now speaking, were those brought by Frederic I. to the walls of Crema. The difficulty of moving them has excited the astonishment of the mechanics of our times: and among the rest the commentator of Polybius, who, in order that this operation may less surprise us, reminds us of that wonderful instrument, by which the architect Aristotle in the fifteenth century transported a tower of stone from place to place. Sacks of wool, of straw, and every yielding matter, were put in use to evade the strokes of the battering ram and the other machines: but every care was taken when it was possible, to burn them, and therefore they had invented various mixtures of sulphur and bitumen which attaching itself to the wood, it was not so easy to extinguish it†.

The mysterious Grecian fire, inextinguishable by water, was for a long time greatly celebrated. The admirable secret of its composition, brought probably to Constantinople by Callinicus of Heliopolis in Syria, in the year 718, was kept concealed for a long time as the palladium of the state. To this the Grecian empire owed its safety, when the Arabs, conquerors on every side in the beginning of the eighth century, in vain conducted numerous fleets into the port of Constantinople. A thousand eight hundred ships were burnt with their captains and crew, till panic-struck they abandoned the undertaking, and if the Grecian empire maintained itself for seven ages more it was indebted for it to that terrible secret. Although

* “Non se extimare Romanos sine ope Deorum bellum gerere, qui tantæ altitudinis machinationes, tanta celeritate promovere possent.” Cæs. de Bell. Gall.

† See the Life of Cola di Rienso, where “they plastered together sulphur, pitch, oil, turpentine and wool, and burnt the little ass.”

the mystery in which this fire is involved may have covered its composition with obscurity*, it has for the most part been guessed at. The principal ingredient appears to have been a kind of burning gum, the lightest of all oils, and when it is pure and scarce in contact with the air it bursts into a flame; sulphur and pitch were mixed with it, and water was not sufficient to extinguish it†. In burning, it produced great explosions, and was thrown from afar, attached to darts or machines, which, imitating the figures of dragons, or other ferocious beasts, vomited from their throat this infernal fire. For four ages the important secret was faithfully preserved: finally, it was revealed to the Saracens, who, in the expedition of St. Louis into Egypt, employed it against the Christians‡. Grecian fire continued to be made use of until the middle of the fourteenth century; it has since been thrown into oblivion by the more terrible invention of powder. The period of this discovery, which has wrought so great a change in the art of war, is not pre-

* See Ducange. Anna Commena it is who speaks thereof most clearly. Alexiad. lib. 11 and 13. Leon. cap. 19. Tactica. Meurs. tom. 6.

† According to the account of the chymist Marius, quoted by Bomare Dizion. art. *Nepta*, a candle made of burning gum and rosin, in equal parts, burns under water. Sand alone and urine were capable of extinguishing the Grecian fire; Pliny believes that the fire of Medea was awakened by naphtha.—Plin. Hist. Nat. 2. 109.

‡ Mémoires du Chevalier de Joinville. The chevalier Joinville was companion of St. Louis in his unfortunate expedition against Egypt: the history, written in the thirteenth century, in which they lived, contains the memorials of it, and is one of the most interesting books. In vain has the extravagant Arduino attempted to challenge its authenticity, demonstrated by the best evidence by Sig. de la Bastie.—Mém. de l'Acad. de Belles Lettres, tom. 15.

cisely established. Two epochs must be distinguished, viz., the time of the invention of powder and its application to the purposes of war. Roger Bacon, a monk who died in Oxford, anno 1292, is regarded with reason as the inventor of powder, as he is the first who speaks of its composition*: at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was applied to war. Petrarch, writing before the year 1344, speaks of fire arms as already invented some years, and that at his time they had become common†. The celebrated battle of Crecy happened in the year 1346, and the victory of the English was owing in great part to these arms, according to a contemporary writer‡. If there really exists, too, as Stetionius says§, in Amberg in the Palatinate of Bavaria in the public armoury, a piece of artillery on which there is an inscription of the year 1303, if no doubt arise of the authenticity of this inscription, it becomes the most ancient document of the use of fire arms. We have already spoken of the most certain documents of so celebrated a discovery, leaving those to navigate in the dark ocean of conjecture who, upon very uncertain hints in the fable of Salmoneus, and other equivocal tales have pre-

* De Mirab. Pot. Art. et Nat. ep. 106.

† “Glandes æneæ quæ flammis injectis horisono senitu jaciuntur. Erat hæc festis nuper rara, nunc communis, &c.—Petrar. de Remed. utrius Fort. Dial. 99.

‡ Gio. Villani, lib. 12. cap. 65. “They shot forth balls of iron with fire, and made so great a shaking of the earth and noise that it appeared as if God was thundering. Three years before this battle, the Moors, besieged by the Spaniards in Algeziras, had made use of them (Marian. Ist. di Spagna); in Denmark they used them at the same time; whence it appears that after the year 1330, this destructive arm became common in Europe.”

§ Acta Erudit. 1769, pag. 19.

tended to trace the use of powder among the ancients*. The use of other arms continued however some time after this discovery, but as the artillery was carried to greater perfection, bows, cross bows, and other missile weapons were by degrees forgotten.

An entire revolution took place in warfare, but the principal change has happened in sieges. Many fortresses were at that time invincible†; at present there is none.

* See *M. Dutens*, in the work *Discoveries of the Ancients* attributed to Moderns, who sustains this opinion, as if Salomoneus, Caligola, and others quoted by him, could not have imitated thunder and lightning like actors in a theatre, as if a foundation could be laid upon the manuscript of a *Grecian sign*, which we know not what it is or what time it existed in. Such a dream of the ingenious author may be united to others upon the use of the electric conductor, of the Telescope, &c., which he finds among the ancients. The assertion of a great man like Lord Bacon, that in India and China, fire arms were known nearly two thousand years ago, merits more respect and better examination, but cannot be blindly embraced upon his word.—Bacon's Essay on the Vicissitude of Things.

† The artifice and modes by which they sought to conquer and defend places, are excellently described by Tasso in the siege of Jerusalem. L' Ariete:

Gia l'ariete alla muraglia appressa
Macchine grandi, e smisurate travi,
Che han testa di monton ferrata e dura:
Temon le porte il cozzo, e l' alto mura.

The action of the mole (talpa) to undermine the walls:

Altri percuote i fondamenti a gara:
Ne crolla il muro, a ruinoso i fianchi
Già fessi mostra all' impeto de' Franchi.

Means employed to oppose the action of the ram:

Che ovunque la gran trave in lui si stende,
Cala fasci di lana, e li frappone.
Prende in se le percosse, e fa più lente
La materia arrendevole e cedente.

The attack by means of towers:

Questa è torre di legno, e s'erge tanto
Che può del muro pareggiar le cime,

Although particular writers, too fond of antiquity, celebrate the force of the *catapulte*, *baliste*, or *mangani*, &c.

Torre, che grave d' uomini ed armata
 Mobile è sulla rote, e vien tirata.
 Viene avventando la volubil mole
 Lancie e quadrella, e quanto può s' accosta :
 E come nave in guerra a nave suole
 Tenta d' unirsi alla muraglia opposta.
 Ma chi la guarda, ed impedir ciò vuole,
 L' urta la fronte, e l' una e l' altra costa ;
 La respinge con l' aste, e le percote
 Or con le pietre i merli ed or le rote.
 Tanti di quà, tanti di la fur mossi
 E sassi e dardi, ch' oscuronne il cielo.
 S' urtar duo nembi in aria, a la fermossi
 Talor respinto onde partiva il telo :
 Come di fronde sono i rami scossi
 Dalla pioggia indurata in freddo gelo
 E ne caggiono i pomi anco immaturi
 Così cadeano i Saracin, dai muri :
 Però che scenda in lor più grave il Danno
 Che di ferro assai meno eran guerniti.
 Parte de' vivi ancora in fuga vanno
 Della gran mole al fulminar smarriti.
 Ma quel, che già fu di Nicea tiranno
 Vi resta, e fa restarvi i pochi arditi.
 E' il fero Argante a contrapporsi corre
 Presa una trave, alla nemica torre.
 E da se la respinge e tien lontana
 Quanto l' abete è lungo e' l braccio forte
 I Franchi intanto alla pendente lana
 Le funi recideano e le ritorte
 Con lunghe falci ; onde cadendo a terra
 Lasciava il muro disarmato in guerra.
 Così la torre sovra, e più di sotto
 L' impetuoso il batte aspro ariete
 Onde comincia omai forato e rotto
 A discoprir le interne vie secrete, &c.

And in the eighteenth canto is an admirable description of a tower composed of various machines of offence :

Si scommette la mole, e ricompone
 Con sottili giunture in un congiunta :
 E la trave che testa ha di montone
 Dall' ime parti sue cozzando spunta.
 Lancia nel mezzo un ponte, e spesso il pone
 Sull' opposta muraglia a prima giunta ;
 E fuor di lei su per le cime n' esce
 Torre minor, ch' in suso è spinta e cresce.

as equal in the effect of blows given against the walls to cannon, it is easy to perceive their inferiority in the celerity of the operation. Few were these instruments at a siege, and the no small interval between one blow and another requiring considerable time to adapt the heavy bodies to the machine, and to charge it*, the blows which were frequently badly calculated failed in striking the important post. The little damage done to the walls in a day of assault was easily repaired in the night; and thus if the besieged city was sufficiently supplied with defenders and provisions, it was rarely taken, the besieged having the advantage of situation. The rapid and continual action of the cannon day and night destroys in the end every strong rampart, when directed with mathematical certainty to the point particularly aimed at. The art of the engineer is arrived at a perfection to calculate nearly the time in which the place will be taken. In battles of the field the effect of the cannon has been less. The formidable bayonet has exceeded it. As soon as a body of troops is animated by a blind valour, and possesses sufficient resolution to march to the attack of a battery over the bodies of its

* Voltaire having interrogated Count D' Holstein of Bavaria, if the piece of artillery was in existence (*Remarque sur l'Essai des Mœurs*,) &c., received for answer that after the most diligent researches it could not be found; whence he infers the falsity of the assertion; but it might once have existed, and have been destroyed by neglect. The same illustrious writer, who has the frequent defect of passing too lightly over questions, would not have asserted it to have been false that artillery was made use of at the battle of Crecy and on other occasions at those times, if he had before his eyes the alleged passages of Villani and Petrarch, which form positive proofs superior to the negative deduced from the silence of the acts of the tower of London: he would not have denied Roger Bacon the invention of powder, if he had originally consulted the works of the same.

companions, experience has shown that the battery is taken in a few moments. Thus of hand arms modern warriors have only retained this terrible instrument, and the sabre.

A reform in tactics has taken place in almost every war, and the celebrated author of this art if alive would have to make important changes in his excellent work. But we cannot forgive him for the assertion, that after the ruin of the Roman tactics there was no other until the times of Nassau and Gustavus. Leaving Castruccio and the Duke Francis Sforza out of the question, we have already taken notice of the reform made by Consalvo in the militia, which rendered the Spanish infantry the first troops in Europe. Who would say this great man knew nothing of tactics? or Pescara, or Alexander Farnese, a general to be compared to the greatest of antiquity? His march to Paris is well known. This city was besieged by the troops of Henry IV. Farnese, who was in Flanders, received an order from Philip II. to march to Paris, and raise the siege without hazarding a battle. The problem was one of the most difficult, being obliged to advance into an enemy's country, with one of the most resolute warriors, like Henry, in his front, on his flanks, and at his rear, at the head of his valiant troops. Nevertheless Farnese arrived at Paris; caused the siege to be raised with the finest and most masterly tactics, and returned to Flanders still molested by that active sovereign, who not being able to bring him to battle, sent him a ridiculous challenge*. Can it be

* See for all these operations, Davila particularly. Nothing proves better the masterly operations of Farnese and the superiority of his enemy than the impetuous rage of Henry, who not being able to bring him to battle, sent him a challenge. His wise answer is well known: that he was not accustomed to fight when

said that such a general and such troops were ignorant of tactics*? Nor can Italy be denied the glory of the ingenious discoveries, by which Vauban has restored the art of defending fortresses. The unprejudiced French themselves have confessed that in the work of Captain Marchi the principles are to be found, upon which Vauban has reformed the art of fortifications.

it pleased the enemy, and that if he forced him to it, he would then see he would not refuse battle.

• If Ghibert means by not having tactics, not having those of Nassau and of Gustavus, he is in the right, neither Consalvo, nor Farnese were acquainted with them; but as the tactics of our times are perhaps more different from those of Gustavus, &c., than the latter from those of Farnese, &c., it might upon the same foundation be asserted that Nassau and Gustavus knew nothing of tactics.

ESSAY I.

UPON THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE.

AMONGST the many changes which the fall of the Roman empire effected in Italy, that of language was certainly one. As the birth of this new tongue interests Tuscany more than the other provinces of Italy, it becomes necessary, in the history to trace the origin and progress which appertain precisely to the ages which we have hitherto gone through.

Two of the greatest inventions of mankind are language and writing: with the former they have expressed their ideas by a kind of music, with the latter by means of a painting. In all assemblages of men however savage, the first has never been wanting, and rarely a rude sketch at least of the second. But the language of savage men differs as much from that of the cultivated and learned, as the men themselves; the few wants of rude nations have only suggested syllables corresponding to them, whilst the multiplied wants of a cultivated society, the greater variety of physical objects, the much more numerous artificial passions, and the long gradation of moral sentiments unknown to savages, have given rise to the necessity of expressing these new ideas; and consequently enrich the language. Even the brutes possess a kind of speech, by which they clearly express among themselves the strongest passions such as anger, love, jealousy, desire; and we ourselves comprehend it in that brute particularly which is, as it were, associated with civil society, and is become a guardian to

the faithful shepherd, a companion and helpmate to the sportsman. The formation of tongues has not been hitherto, and probably never will be, the work of philosophers; hence their irregularities and caprices are not to be wondered at: they are daughters less of reason than of imagination, which latter being very lively amongst savages, even in this imperfect state possesses words in consequence highly picturesque.

Besides the natural formation of language amongst men recently brought together, there is another to which most of the modern languages owe their origin, viz. the great and sudden mixture of one language with another, which occurs amongst a conquered people. The English, the French, the Spanish and the Italian acknowledge this cause. Our own had for its principal mother the Latin, which it so much resembles. Even in the times in which Rome was mistress of the world, so many strangers flocking to it, attracted thither by curiosity, or in search of riches, honours, and establishments, the Tullian purity must necessarily have been insensibly changed, as even Tully himself* very much complains of having occurred in his days, and after him the Latin satiric †. Nevertheless so long as Rome was the mistress, and foreigners came thither only as tributaries, they were obliged to learn the language of their conquerors, and the alteration was very slow: but when the barbarians had subjugated Italy and established their empire in it, it then became necessary for the conquered Italians to learn

* *Ætatis illius ista fuit laus tanquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi, sed hanc rem deteriore vetustas fecit et Romæ et in Græcia: confluerunt enim, et Athenas, et in hanc urbem multi inquinata loquentes ex diversis locis quo magis expurgandus est sermo.* Cicer. de Clar. Orat.

† *Jampridem Sirius in Tiberim defluxit Orontis, Et linguam et mores . . . vexit.*—Juv. Sat. 2.

the language of these barbarians. Numerous however as the conquerors were, their Italian subjects were still more so, and the foundation of the Latin language was consequently preserved, but assumed new forms, complying, as it were, with the laws of the language of the conquerors.

That the Italian language with little variation from what is now spoken by the vulgar existed even with the ancient Romans, and was the language of the common people, is an opinion I can hardly believe to have been seriously maintained by learned men. Such was the opinion of Leonardo Bruni, and being supported too by Hercules Strozzi, in the dialogues of Bembo, proves that this opinion had even followers in those times. Even in our own days a man of merit, Quadrius, has maintained it. Their arguments are so frivolous as scarce to merit confutation, since nothing more can be inferred from them but that the Roman common people spoke a corrupted Latin, which differed from that of the elegant writers, as much as the Italian language of the mob differs from that of Redi and of Cocchi. Nor less singular is the opinion of Marq. Maffei, who does not believe the languages of the barbarous conquerors have contributed any thing to the formation of the new tongue, which he thinks has arisen alone from the continued alteration of the Latin. There is only one ingenious argument of this writer, which in truth goes little way to establish his opinion, but rather to give rise to a difficulty not easy to be explained. "The northern languages of the conquerors being so harsh, discordant, and full of consonants, how is it possible that from their union with the Latin should rise a language so soft and so full of vowels?" We can only reply, that this is one of those whims of chance, the irregular and innumerable

directions of which human genius can neither foresee nor follow ; and that this soft language is born in the same manner, as from deformed parents beautiful children, or, as Ariosto expresses it,

Che dalle spine ancor nascon le rose,
E da una fetid' erba nasce il giglio.

But it is certainly impossible, that, when two nations are united and confounded together, the words particularly of the predominant nation should not be mixed with those of the language of the other, since we know from a long experience, that foreign nations and not absolute masters of Italy, as the Spanish and the French in the time they ruled over us with their fashions and influence, have insinuated into it many words. This must have happened still more with respect to the language of a people masters and stationary in Italy, and who spoke with slaves. Besides which laborious etymologists clearly point out to us many of the northern vowels which have been introduced into it*: we must, however, confess that these bear a very small proportion to the words of Latin origin, of which for the most part our language is composed†.

The Italian language, born in this manner, has lost one of the finest qualities of her mother, viz., the declensions, and has therefore been obliged to refer to the articles of which the Latin was deprived, in order to indicate with them the case which was shewn in the former by the various terminations of the word: by this change it has become as it were more heavy and certainly more monotonous, as in lieu of the hyperbole so gen-

* See particularly Muratori nelle Antich. Ital. Dissert. 32, 33.

† Let us take up only an Italian book and begin to read, and we shall often run through a whole page in which all the words will be found of Latin origin.

teelly varied by the Latins, and which affords so much majesty to the diction, the Italian is obliged on account of the articles to present, in an order little varied, the nominative, the verb and the accusative. In vain Boccaccio, and others of the early writers have endeavoured by transposition to give the daughter this beauty of the mother. Experience has shewn that she is not capable of it.

The essential mutations began after the ruin of the empire of the West, when the Goths in the sixth century, and subsequently the Lombards, established themselves in Italy. The temporary inundation she has so often been exposed to from the Greeks, who under the command of Belisarius and Narses came to re-conquer a patrimony re-claimed by the Emperors of the East, and long resided here, from the Franks, the Hungarians, and other nations, like the inundation of rivers and torrents, must have left upon the soil of Italy heterogeneous and foreign particles, which mixed with the disfigured Latin, have finally composed the Italian tongue. The period it has taken to form itself, is sufficiently long and comprehends many ages, but as we have no respectable testimony that it was begun to be written before the end of the eleventh century, we must allow nearly six centuries for its formation. This languid and long infancy is owing particularly to the barbarity and profound ignorance in which the Italians remained immersed. We cannot with precision fix the period at which the language acquired sufficient form to be written, because all was written in Latin, but in the most ancient papers of this Latin we meet with words of the vulgar tongue already created, words which ignorance of the equivalent Latin ones obliged the barbarous writers to latinize, exactly as the lower orders of Hungary in our days

speak Latin, or like those which the whim of imagination has so facetiously latinized in the poetry of Merlin Coccai. There are papers of this kind which by learned antiquarians are referred to the eighth and even to the seventh century * ; whence we must confess, that from this time, the vulgar language had began to be formed, and that there were already two languages, one the Latin for writing, the other the vulgar which was commonly

* There are some very important ones to prove our proposition, referred to in Murat. Antiquit. Ital. Diss. 24. In a paper of the chapter of Lucca, of the year 777, are found the expressions: “ Offero a Deo omnipotenti ed ad ecclesia monasteri,” &c. We see the articles already created in the vulgar and transported by ignorance into the Latin (Offro a Dio e alla Chiesa). In the legibus Alamannis cap. Balusii, we find *posare arma josum* (posar giù le armi) the word *iosum* for *giu* are found also in the works of St. Augustin. In a paper of the eighth century, in which the confines of possessions are distinguished, written in Latin, we find the words: *da pars* (da un lato) *da uno capu corre via publica*. Another paper of the ninth age: *avent in longo perticas quatordice in traverso de uno capo pedes dece, de alio nove in traverso*. But one of the papers, which merits observation above all the others, is found in the archive above mentioned of the canons of Lucca. Vid. Murat. Diss. 24. Therein is given a description of various receipts for dyeing Mosaics, and skins, and for writing with liquid gold. This paper is believed by the learned Mabillon to belong to the times of Charles the Great. The following expressions are read therein: “ egeis ut refridet—secondo quod—(*secondo che*) cusa ipsas pelles, laxas desiccare (*lascia seccare*) batte lamina, et post illa battuta—per martellum âdequatur tam de latum, quam de longum—scaldato illo in foco batte e tene illum cum tenaba ferrea sed tornata de intro in foras—destende eum ibi scalda—pone ad battere ad denante—satacciatur modicum laxa stare—adplanare cum maliola lignea—ossa granci.” This paper written in Latin shews that many words of the Italian tongue were already created. Various learned men believe that exactly in the seventh age the Latin language ceased to be commonly spoken, and an imperfect cant of the vulgar began. Blair, Chronolog.

in use: nor is it probable, as some have believed, that there was only one language, viz., the Latin, such as we find it written in those times. The documents, we have quoted in the notes, are at variance with this opinion, and as the Italian language was certainly written in the twelfth century, it becomes necessary to allow a sufficient time before it could be written, a work not speedily accomplished. The most specious argument employed to prove that the common people spoke and understood Latin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is, that Latin was preached to the people: but this is one of those frequent contradictions and scarcely intelligible extravagances which we find in human affairs. The Latin language was used for greater majesty; it was the sacred language, the language of the learned, and in the same manner as at that time they preached in a language unintelligible to the common people, the same common people in our time direct their prayers to heaven in the same language, which they do not understand. That the Latin sermons moreover were not understood by the people, who listened to them, is clearly inferred from the interpretations that were made of them after the Latin discourse*.

* See Antich. Estensi, par. 1. cap. 36. pag. 356. Speaking of a homily of the Patriarch of Aquileja, it is said, “quum prædictus patriarcha liberaliter, sapienter prædicasset, et per eum (cioè pro eo) Gherardus Paduanus Episcopus maternaliter ejus prædicationem explanasset,” &c. This account removes every difficulty by shewing the use of the two languages, the Latin and the vulgar. Even in later times when the Italian language was formed and began to be written, the custom has been followed in the public acts, in public and solemn orations to speak Latin. Dante, sent ambassador to the Venetian senate, had begun his oration in Latin, but the senate made him silent, or demanded that he should bring with him an interpreter, of which he highly complains. See Lett. di Dante.

From the great number of vulgar words found in the Latin papers of the eighth century, it may with great reason be asserted that, until that time, they commonly spoke the vulgar tongue. Although we cannot with precision establish the time in which they began to write it, it is clear, however, that it happened before the middle of the twelfth century. If they would not admit as a certain proof the Italian verses that were written in Mosaic, in the tribune of the ancient cathedral of Ferrara*, (since the doubt may be started that they have been written some time after, to confirm a memorial handed down by tradition,) every doubt is removed by a parchment referred to by Ughelli†. In the following age it was commonly written; and Tuscany possesses the most authentic document of it in the History of Ricordano Malaspina, the first that has been written in the Italian language‡.

Scarce was the Italian genius roused from its long slumber of ignorance, when particularly the Tuscans began to temper it, softened its roughness, enriched it with new spoils, and gradually raising it from the degradation to which it was condemned in the mouth of the

* Baruff. Pref. to the Ferrarese Poets: here are the verses—

In mille cento trempa cinque nato
Fu questo tempio, e a Zorzi dedicato:
Fu Niccolas scoltore
E Glielmo fu l'autore.

† Ital. Sacr.—The skin is written in vulgar language, and belongs to the year 1122; in it are established some limits.

‡ It excites great astonishment, that the learned Tiraboschi, to give an essay upon the rudeness of the Italian language, in the thirteenth century, refers to some very rough verses, written in the year 1264 by a Milanese poet, when he might have had a better and a purer model in the History of Malaspina, written certainly before that time.

vulgar, elevated it to a rank corresponding with the dignity of the mother, without losing by the comparison. Like in young people, the first faculty developed is imagination before mature reason; so, in rising languages, the daughter of imagination, Poetry, precedes Philosophy. The poets were the first to distinguish themselves in polishing and enriching our language. When, however, we read the rude, harsh, and insipid verses written in Italy, even after the middle of the thirteenth century, and at the close of it the greater part of the wonderful poem of Dante,—we cannot look upon the progress of the language without the greatest admiration, or rather the divine genius of that great bard. We cannot form a just idea of the merits of Dante, without reading the writings of his predecessors, in order to ascertain the poverty of the language. He has been, in fact, the creator, and particularly of the poetical. The greatest poets are even more rare than great philosophers; because the talents of the former are formed from two elements, rarely found united, and which appear, on the contrary, incompatible,—namely, a very lively imagination, and a cold and settled judgment. Innumerable are the images which present themselves to the fancy when set in motion, and succeed rapidly to each other: tranquil reason must select the few capable of forming the beautiful picture. Imagination is a fiery steed, which, left alone, would leap irregularly out of the road over rocks and precipices, at the frequent risk of breaking its neck. Judgment is the rider that guides him, not with a rugged halter, but a string of silk. If the bridle is too hard,—if, by indiscreet treatment, the rider makes too great a use of it, the steed loses his sensibility, nor any longer risks such fine leaps. Hence it is that the poems of great imagination arise in times in which that severe criticism is

not yet formed, which often extinguishes the fine poetic fire with its cold circumspection. This very rare talent, composed of these two ingredients in their proper dose, was granted by nature to Dante as a singular gift; and he was enabled to create not only the poetic language, but many words and phrases with which prose was also enriched. Scarcely do we perceive how much we are indebted to this great writer; because the riches he has brought into our language have become common to succeeding authors: and we never refer to the fountain, like an opulent family in the enjoyment of its riches, which rarely considers with gratitude the person who first laboured to amass them. This is not the place to point out his successful labours. It would require too minute and too tedious an analysis. He may be said to have done what Augustus did, who found Rome built of brick, and left it of marble*.

It would not be proper to enter anew into an odious and disgusting question, which, in the sixteenth century, kindled so much animosity amongst the Italian literati, whether this language should be called *Tuscan* or *Italian*,—but rather this is the place to absolve the Tuscans from the imputation of exercising a despotism over the language, and of receiving only with difficulty the words of the other Italian provinces, of erecting a kind of tribunal, and making themselves exclusive judges of it.

We will now examine impartially, whether the Tuscans have a greater right than the other Italians to this judgment. It accidentally happened, that the first great writers have been Tuscans. Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio wrote their language. True is it, that the Tuscan

* Sueton. vit. August.

dialect was that which they wrote in preference to any other in Italy*; the same which, with very little variation, is still spoken in Tuscany. The pure language of Boccaccio and other old writers is better preserved by the vulgar Florentine artisans and the people of the country, than by the more polished and noble classes of Tuscany, whose intercourse with foreigners has not a little altered the ancient language; and it not unfrequently happens, that some words of those writers, now obsolete, are found in the mouths of shepherds in the country, as we still trace their ancient simplicity of manners. The Tuscan language, fortunately boasting of the first illustrious writers, became the learned language, the language of writing. These writers have always strove to adorn it with new and rich ornaments: all the additions were modelled after the Tuscan dialect; from them alone it acquired that purity and elegance, of which it is now no longer possible to deprive it; and indeed what is purity and elegance of language†? Recurring

* Against this assertion we may quote the authority of Dante, who, in his book *de vulgari eloquentia*, has been of a contrary opinion. I shall not doubt, as some have done, of the authenticity of this book; I shall only observe, that Dante cannot be quoted upon this head. The language was at that time uncertain and wandering; it had taken no form and character until they were stamped upon it by him. Romulus could not speak of the greatness of Rome before he had built it. Dante, with his two great successors, Petrarch and Boccaccio, founded the language, and founded it too upon the Tuscan basis. If these three used in preference the Tuscan, the preference is decided. This appears to me demonstrated from observing that, of all the terms and dialects of Italy, the Tuscan are those which for the greater part are found in them, and that these are constantly in the mouths of the common people of Tuscany. And what is the reason we do not find the dialects and terms of the other provinces, unless very rarely?

† It excites great astonishment, that one of the most illustrious living Italians should deny the existence of purity of languages.

to rude times, when a language is without authors, there exists neither purity nor elegance, all the words are equal, like men in a state of nature, some few alone are distinguished from the number which express the ideas represented by sound. Before the great writers, all words, either Tuscan, Lombard, Venetian, or Neapolitan, each dialect possessed an equal merit; but since a great writer, full of imagination, has undertaken to couple the Tuscan words with fine images; since they have so often been the vehicle to the spirit, and to the heart of great thoughts, of soft and delicate sentiments; since we have been horror-struck by means of them at the atrocious spectacle of Ugolino, and shed compassionate tears over the two unfortunate brothers-in-law; the mind and the ears associate the words with these ideas, and the same being said in all other cases, hence it is that great writers give to a rising dialect, (and consequently have given to our Tuscan,) purity, nobility, and elegance. Subsequent authors have regulated themselves after the first, and have only cultivated the same ground. Men are creatures of habit; association of ideas is to them a

(Essay upon the Italian Language, by the Abbé Melchior Cesarotti.) Here are his words: "No language is pure. Not only does there not exist at present any one such, but there never was, and can never be: because a language, in its primitive origin, is formed from a complication of various idioms; thence the supposed purity of languages, which, besides being entirely false, is, moreover, a chimera, because a language quite pure would be the most poor and barbarous of any that exist." The same writer, however, forgetting what he had asserted, adds below: "Hence it is ridiculous to believe, as it is thought and affirmed, that the Latin language was less Latin in the age called of bronze than in that of gold; although *perhaps it might be called* less pure. [Is not this an evident contradiction, in spite of the *perhaps*? The work quoted is full of strange assertions of a similar tenor, which appear particularly directed against the Tuscans. I hope, whoever has read them will

second nature*: from the former arise innumerable pleasures and displeasures, the finest pictures of nature being presented to us in the Italian language through the vehicle of the words and the Tuscan dialect, the ideas of purity, elegance, and nobility being consequently so closely connected with the Tuscan phrases; we listen to them with a kind of reverence for the images, with which they have been coupled, even when not pronounced by Tuscans. When various celebrated writers, the first who appeared in a language, have given course to words, and elevated them, as it were, to the dignity of representing noble ideas and great thoughts, they become noble; the more so when continued by writers of celebrity who succeed the first: when the most illustrious men, foreigners to Tuscany, as an Ariosto or a Tasso, have subjected themselves, with few exceptions, to the same law, a period succeeds wherein language, which was poor at the beginning, continues to be enriched until it has acquired the colours, words, and phrases, which are sufficient to give a lively picture both of the delightful scenes of nature, and the strong passions, with all their modifications. These words and phrases, first put in course by writers who formed the language, and afterwards accepted and confirmed by their successors, have formed what is called purity of style. When time has, as it were, put the seal upon, and given an authenticity to, those words and phrases as pure, it would be labour lost to dispute their rank by metaphysical subtilty, by maintaining that there exists neither purity or impurity of language. Language is

find them fully confuted in the present argument, without the necessity of analyzing them one by one.

* Locke on Human Understanding. Book 2.

like a river, which, small at the beginning enlarges itself continually by pure waters, and becomes gradually deep, but limpid and transparent * when arrived at its plenitude, it begins to receive rivulets continually more muddy; the more it flows it enriches itself, but too great riches, as happens to a nation, corrupt it. Facts are worth more than reasonings; compare only Tully with Seneca, Virgil with Lucan, &c. Persons of taste have no necessity to reason but to feel; for example, we feel our delicate ears which are accustomed to what we call elegance, unpleasingly wounded by new or foreign words, and which are not in course, like a cultivated and polished society, offended by any clownish and rude person who may be introduced into it: although considered philosophically and without the rules of gentility which habit has established, neither one manner or another can be called rude or inelegant.

It appears to me that I have sufficiently demonstrated the origin and continuation of what is termed purity of language. Tuscany having enjoyed the good fortune that the first great writers brought the Tuscan dialect and its terms into fashion, and so little difference existing in this province between the language that is spoken and that which is written, and so great a one between it and the dialect of the greater part of the other provinces of Italy, it follows that Tuscany has endeavoured (without charge of arrogance,) not to erect to herself a tribunal, or to claim the exclusive right of judging of the merit

* The style of a language brought to perfection may be expressed in two verses written upon the Thames by one of the most celebrated English poets, Denham, verses so much celebrated by his fellow citizens :

Though deep yet clear, though gentle, yet not dull,
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing, full.

of the writers of other provinces, and pronouncing upon them an irrevocable sentence; but to collect together in many volumes, the phrases originally her own, because put in course by her first writers, together with those phrases which other celebrated authors, foreigners to Tuscany, have added; in order that she might establish the language, and give its true signification to foreigners. The celebrated academy of the Crusca, and that which has succeeded it, have never pretended to draw a line or a barrier to any new word, or to receive and reject at caprice and without just reasons whatever it pleases, with which it has been often bitterly accused by the other provinces of Italy. The number of writers not Tuscans, admitted in the vocabulary as respectable authors, and fit to give sanction to phrases used by them, shews the falsity of the first proposition; for the second, it is only necessary to observe with what caution we ought to admit a new word into a language and give sanction to it. An emperor was told that he might give the Roman citizenship to a man, and not to a word; the cultivated and elegant part of the public alone have the right to admit or to reject the latter. When all the academies make solemn decrees that a word should be admitted and acknowledged as noble and pure, if one judge persists in rejecting it, the decrees are useless: but the judge cannot be called capricious; because in rejecting it he has always a tacit reason, which frequently he does not himself know, but which habit makes him feel; in the same manner, as without knowing the physical reasons for it, the palate rejects a new dish, which the cook thinks ought to have been commended. And, in fact, what are the conditions upon which a foreign word can be received into a language? It is first necessary that in this language

there should be no equivalent; otherwise it would be capricious and unjust to take away from a citizen, without reason, his employment, in order to give it to a foreigner; but this is not sufficient: it is necessary that this word should be universally understood, should have come into course and be found generally in the mouths of polished persons; and if Tuscany asserts that this second condition can be verified upon her soil, she is not in the wrong, as this being the soil upon which the language written is born, it is proper that the trial should be made upon this soil whether it thrives happily. If this right had not been conceded to her in preference, every province of Italy might arrogate it to herself; the Piedmontese put words in course that the Venetians would reject, and those again become disagreeable to the Genoese which the Bolognese had adopted. Without this rampart placed by wise academicians against the intrusion of foreign terms, at this time a general inundation would have so much disfigured the ancient cultivation of this ground, that it would be scarcely discernible by those who converse with the learned ancients. It is true, however, that in the long course of ages, time, that changes every thing, alters also languages; and however those wise academicians may have sought to fix it, many sensible changes must necessarily occur, either through accident; or because such is their nature. Some words grow old and out of use; perhaps some had reference to customs, which being gone out of fashion, the words that represented them are also decayed: the turn of phrases is sometimes changed, new discoveries in philosophy, and the analysis of moral sentiments, have given rise to new manners of expression. It is not necessary that we should obstinately adhere to all the ancient phrases and words.

Whoever would write the language of three centuries back, without adapting it to the style of language spoken in his own times, will not only forfeit the approbation of the public, but appear unnatural and affected. This is a rock upon which even illustrious modern writers sometimes strike; we may, as far as possible, make use of the paste of the ancient pure language, but mould it after modern forms; we may dress in the best cloth and brilliant silk of our ancestors, but the form of the coat must be in the present fashion. Every thing yields to time, every thing at least undergoes a progressive change, and particularly languages; our own, however, has resisted more than others, and where is there among the living languages one that has preserved its disposition, and its character, from its birth down to our times, so well as the Italian? What language can shew writers, who, born in the first development of it, have maintained themselves fresh, to use the expression, and flourish in the same language for five ages, and are still relished, like Dante? The Italian owes this advantage to the great writers, who after a long infancy conducted it rapidly to the vigour of strength: Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, having been always read, have preserved the language fresh and vigorous. I shall not venture to decide whether this vigour still continues, or whether it is declining towards old age; I trust only no one will deny, that finally, in the lapse of so much time, the language has formed its character, taken the road best adapted to it, long in use, and that its education, as it were, has been long since finished. This being allowed we shall perceive the impossibility of making the language comply with new customs, as is advised by great writers. New words may be acquired: since natural philosophy and morality having made such great progress, and

introduced so many new ideas, it becomes necessary that in accepting the ideas we should acknowledge the signs that indicate them; but it will be as difficult to make it adopt new forms, as it would be to a person in the decline of age. For example, our language is deficient in a merit, viz., that of compound words, a quality that so much embellishes the Greek, and is adopted by various of the living languages, particularly the English; the want of this advantage is unpleasing, but it is no longer time to acquire it. A man of fifty years of age may regret not having learnt music; but it is no longer time for him to do so. Our language, the first-born child of the Latin, has followed in this way its disposition; for the Latin possesses only a small share of compound words. The learned Quintilian did wrong to excite writers to form them: it was no longer time for the same reason. The Italians have made vain attempts in our times, or shortly prior to them, to create compound words. Experience has shewn that they are fruits which do not thrive in our soil, as they wither in a short time: the use of them alone has been tolerated in Dithyrambic poets, from an indulgence to a kind of poetry, which supposes the mind exalted more than usual; of which kind we have only one fine example, and it is not to be desired we should have more. I know that it will be contended by many, that languages form to themselves a character, a disposition which prevents them afterwards from adopting new customs. I could answer by experience which decides in my favour; but I will endeavour to examine this theme more at bottom. Every language in its birth is poor, possessing only the words adapted to express the wants of life, and the ideas which that society, more or less extended, has already formed: the great writers appear;

endowed with that fine touch which nature has imparted to few, they begin to select, in the midst of a confused mass, the words which to the ear, the judgment, the imagination, appear to them the finest ; new words are also produced, taken from foreign languages, which have the greater affinity with their own, create new phrases, by uniting together many words, and accustoming the language to certain modes. They are not capricious legislators ; but legislators, like Solon or Lycurgus, being made such by nature. They risk novelties, which are not afterwards permitted to successors. Frequently successful, and some times unfortunate, time and the public give the seal, and put out of use what has been established. The liberty which those writers possess is very great ; and very many expressions, particularly metaphorical, created by them, although very bold, are received gradually by posterity, which in remembrance of so many other beauties shew a favour even to phrases too daring. But these, which no one at present would venture to create, frequently become the received phrases, and the ear and the mind accustomed to them to a degree, that nobody finds any thing further against them. Who would at present dare to say, for the first time, *Il sole tace—il lume fioco—il visibile parlare**, and many other bold figures used by Dante ? Thus it is that every language possesses expressions which would appear ridiculous in another, because the genius is different. Who would say, in our own, to express suicide, *those who have brought forth death to themselves, and, hating the light, have thrown away the soul* ? We should laugh at such metaphors : nevertheless, such are the expressions of

* Observe the similarity of some bold phrases, created by great men of different nations. Dante has said *il visibile parlare* ; as Milton, *oscurita visibile*, visible darkness ; *Paradise Lost*.

Virgil, the most chaste among the Latin poets, and the most moderate in his colours :

. qui sibi Lethum
Insontes peperere manu, lucemque perosi
Projecere animam.

Hence it is, therefore, that the genius, the disposition, the character of every language are formed from the labours of great authors. When they have given the tone and the law to that nation—when, during many ages, she has read, learnt by heart, and repeated with pleasure, those phrases, they have received a sanction; and, as reasoning has no place in affairs of sentiment, metaphysical disquisitions upon works of taste are of little avail. This is so true, that when a dispute arises upon the goodness of a phrase, upon its justness, upon its boldness, every one being able by the same right to approve or disapprove it, we are accustomed to refer, if possible, to the examples of great writers, as to infallible judges. When, therefore, the latter have formed the language,—when they have given it a disposition, a particular character, it would be in vain, after many ages, to accustom it to new ways. These may do much good and much evil to a language; and if a great writer has introduced therein bad habits, it is as difficult not to maintain them in it, as it would be to take away from a vase the smell of the fluid poured into it when new. We meet with an example of this in the language of one of the most learned and most cultivated nations, the English. Shakspeare has certainly been a great founder of their poetical style, but not unfrequently, amidst the most sublime expressions, are found too daring tropes, like those of our seventeenth century, with thoughts too far fetched. The defects of this great man, like his prominent beauties, have had a great influence in the

style of that great nation ; and a mark of the defects of Shakspeare appears also in the writings of their greatest poets, if we except Pope. That the founders of the English language did not possess the purest taste is not my opinion alone. One of their most respectable writers (Hume) says : *It may be considered as a misfortune for English literature, that, on the restoration of letters, the English writers were furnished with great genius, before possessing taste in the smallest degree, and, therefore, gave a kind of sanction to far-fetched manners and to forced sentiments.* Nevertheless, such is the secret and unexpected influence of great writers ; such the force of habit, that although that learned nation, endowed with the finest taste, knows and reproves the greater part of these defects, some of them still flow in their writings. Their metaphors appear to us more bold than our own ; and they would call timidity in us what we call caricature. Either that the ridiculous spectacle, which in the seventeenth century we have given to Europe, of the most extravagant metaphorical style, and of false conceits, has made us ashamed of our faults, after we have returned to our reason, and rendered us too timid ; or that our eye-balls, too much torn by the impudent colouring of that style, have become exceedingly sensible and delicate, many of those which one of their greatest writers calls—*Words that burn, and thoughts that breathe**, appear to many Italians and foreigners very bold expressions. Let me show one example, and draw a comparison. One of the poems, considered by the English amongst their most perfect, is the celebrated Elegy of Gray upon the Country Churchyard. He has

* Thoughts that breathe and words that burn.—GRAY, *on the Progress of Poetry.*

begun it with an idea drawn from Dante, which he does not deny: on the contrary, whose verses he quotes:

. se ode squilla di lontano
Che paja il giorno pianger che si muore.

The idea is genteel: the bell that rings at the dusk of evening is adapted to awaken a noble melancholy. The English is thus literally expressed: *la campana batte il funerale del giorno che muore* *, but the funeral of the day will appear to many an expression a little bold, and of a colouring that *shoots*, to use a painter's phrase. Observe how judiciously Dante, in his original verses, has put the word *paja*, which softens the colouring, and reduces it to its real rank. I could observe, also, how much more true and touching the image of Dante becomes with that *di lontano*; as it cannot be denied, that the effect of waking a melancholy sentiment is not greater when far around in the country we listen in the evening to that sound, rendered more melancholy and obtuse from the distance itself. Other examples might be adduced; but perhaps some will accuse me of too much boldness, because I have ventured to decide upon the phrases of a foreign language: and they will be in the right. Perhaps my opinion is national prejudice: the fruits of every climate have a flavour suited to the soil in which they are cultivated, and to the palate of the inhabitants.

Returning into the road from this little deviation, it appears to me that I have justified that little authority, which accident or the genius of its first writers have given in the language to the Tuscans, authority against which so much has been declaimed, as if it were most cruel despotism.

Let us now impartially examine what advantages or

* The curfew tolls the knell of parting day,

disadvantages the Italian language has derived since the Tuscan dialect became the ruling one. It has certainly acquired the merit of an extraordinary sweetness which rises from the many vowels and few consonants ; and, with the exception of the eastern tongues, it is superior in this quality to every other, and particularly to the northern languages, in the words of which the eye beholds with a kind of disgust a wood of consonants, and hardly understands how it is possible to pronounce them. Of the Italian provinces, the Tuscan dialect is the softest, particularly the Florentine, the sweetness of which is even excessive, as by cutting off too much, and swallowing (as it were) the consonants, and even the vowels, it converts itself into a defect. This sweetness, so adapted to song and to tender poetry, has given rise to such a number of poets, (as no other nation counts a third part of those of Italy,) a great part of whose verses, void of images and of graceful sentiments, a mere harmonious sound *, flatter only the ears by the sweetness of the language and rhyme. If in the midst of this abundant harvest were not found the greatest pupils of the Muses, that quality would have done us more harm than good ; but as one of the poetical merits is harmony, when this is united to soundness of thought and the vivacity of images, we have a poetical perfection superior to all other nations: this harmonious softness is carried to a degree, that often the common people sing verses they do not understand, contented alone with the amusement which the melody of the language affords the ears. This merit, however, is perhaps compensated by a defect: in the Tuscan dialect all the words finish

versus rerum inopes
Nugæque canoræ.—HOR. *Poet.*

with a vowel, nor do we ever cut off in the pronunciation unless another succeeds, consequently the longest words are composed of more syllables than in many other tongues. If we compare our words with the English and the French, and give attention to their pronunciation, we shall see what an economy of syllables there is in them. The syllables are formed by vowels, and these are cut off in so large a quantity; almost all the last are so certainly, whilst ours must be pronounced and consequently form a syllable. Not only the final vowels, but many of the intermediate ones vanish from the lips of foreigners; hence frequently a word, which, when pronounced in the Italian, would form three syllables, in French, and still more so in the English, is reduced to one. From this quality their poets derive particular advantage, which include more images in a very short space, and the shorter the picture is wherein without clashing together or confusion, the images are restrained, so much the more it strikes us. There are Italian dialects, and particularly the Genoese and Piedmontese, which cut off many vowels, and in which the words are consequently very short. If the first writers had been born in Genoa or Piedmont who had raised up their dialect to the dignity of the ruling language, as has happened to Tuscany, the language would have acquired the merit of brevity of words, but at a great sacrifice of its sweetness: I will leave to delicate critics to decide if the sacrifice would have been equal to the gain. Besides surpassing in sweetness almost all the living languages, the Italian perhaps does not yield to any in richness of expression, and surpasses many: this richness, much as it favours poetry and eloquence, is very unfavourable to philosophical precision. The word is never wanting when necessary which exact reason requires as preferable

to every other to say whatever may be taught without ornament; and Galileo, Macchiavello, Redi, Cocchi, and Magalotti have taught us this; but amidst such an abundance of words, the one which precise philosophical language requires, does not so soon present itself to the writer, who is buried frequently and embarrassed amidst the rich variety of flowers, or of similar and analogous, but not the precise terms. The author not rarely finds himself poor in the midst of plenty. A language less rich, such as the French, and which hardly knows poetical colouring, lends itself immediately to philosophical precision. It is like to a person not rich but economical, who is perfectly well acquainted with money and spends it at proper times and with judgment: an unprecise Italian writer is like a rich prodigal, who throws pieces of gold away to get rid of the trouble of choosing from amongst them those of silver or copper which would be fitter for the circumstances. We are deficient in eloquent writers because we are without the causes that produce true eloquence, viz., the opportunities of speaking of great interests in public, as first in Greece, afterwards in Rome, and now in England and France, where, consequently, eloquence is arrived at its highest pitch. There would have been room for sacred orators to have distinguished themselves, but we must confess with sorrow we can reckon few above mediocrity, nor do we know of any we can confront with a Masillon, a Bourdaloue, a Fletcher, and a Boussuet, among the French, or a Salisbury, a Sherlocke, and many others, amongst the English. We shall not seek too minutely for the reason which would lead us perhaps to disgusting and odious consequences; but it is certain that with the fine themes which religion presents us with, and the morality adapted to raise the spirit and inflame the heart, we cannot, since

the birth of our language, shew a single book which approaches those quoted. In the greater part of our sermons we seek to introduce subtle theological disputes, unintelligible certainly to the common people, who always praise and applaud what they do not understand. The rule should be to speak more to the heart than to the spirit, as rarely men are ignorant of their own duty, which is written in plain terms in the breast of every one. The sacred orations are, moreover, written for the most part in a far-fetched and emphatic style; it is a poetical prose, where we discover the flight of a whimsical imagination rather than the inspiration of Apollo. Does the preacher wish to tell you that it is day? he introduces before you Aurora, who with her rosy fingers opens the windows of the East. Will he relate to you the adventure of the prophet Jonas? He describes to you a tempest with the whistling of winds and the bellowing of the waves found in the description of the torn pieces of Virgil, or in the deformed images of Ariosto, like fine faces in a caricature. Does he wish to draw a similitude? Desirous of making shew of what he thinks he knows, he draws it from some philosophical phenomenon, forgetful that the similitude should illustrate and further explain the thought, and therefore be drawn from common objects, and not become to the public more obscure than what we would wish to have explained. I know many may accuse my judgment which they will call false and indiscreet, but I only ask them to produce me an original to be compared with those quoted; they can only shew me Segneri or Tornielli, who, however superior to all other Italians, are far behind the former. But it is this deficiency which should continually excite the Italian genius to strike into a new course, by pointing out to them a glorious post vacant, which they ought to occupy.

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF TUSCANY AFTER THE DEATH OF THE COUNTESS
MATILDA.—POWER AND ENTERPRISES OF THE PISANS.—
CRUSADES.

ANCIENT Tuscany extended from the mouth of the Magra to that of the Tiber. Under the dukes and marquises it was distinguished into three parts by the names of Royal, Ducal, and Roman* Tuscany, the confines of which were often varied. The Florentine republic conquered a part of it; and when the sovereigns of the house of Medici, and their successors obtained the dominion over it, the name of Tuscany was preserved by the ancient Florentine state, with the addition of the Siennese and Pisan territories.

This is the country with the history of which we shall employ ourselves at present; referring to the times, in which the feudal bond being broken, which held them so slenderly united to the empire, the cities of Tuscany, like those of the rest of Italy, became turbulent republics. Among these, Florence will particularly claim our attention; since, aiming at the conquest of Tuscany, she connects with her own events, the most important vicissitudes of the other cities.

Tuscany still preserved a shadow of dependance upon the Countess Matilda, as long as she was alive, more from a timid respect than from her real power. Already many cities obtained independent governments; and we often find Pisa and Lucca making war upon each other,

* *Chrorograph. medii Ævi. Mur. Script. Ital. tom. 10. T. iii.*

although governed, at least in appearance, by Matilda. We may be certain, that if any dependance existed as long as she lived, it was removed entirely at her death; the more so, as the succession was contended for by various pretenders. Her successors, Conrad, Ulric, and Guelph, are hardly mentioned. The tie of dependance of the various cities of Tuscany was continually becoming more slender, and finally was dissolved; but at various epochs.

One of the cities of Tuscany, perhaps the first to relieve herself from the feudal government, was Pisa. Strabo, and other authors have given her a Grecian origin*. Situated near the sea upon the triangle formed in past ages, by the confluence of the two rivers, the Arno and the Serchio†; she was highly adapted to

* Strabo (Geograph. lib. 5.) relates that it was built by the Pisei of Peloponnesus, who having gone with Nestor to the siege of Troy, on their return were driven upon the Tuscan coast, where Pisa is situated; others at Metoponto, upon the confines of Italy: according to the same author, Pisa was less celebrated in his time than she had once been; she was distinguished, however, for the fertility of her soil, for wood for building, and for stone-cutting.

+ Such is the position of Pisa, noted by Strabo, lib. 5. Thus it is described by Rutilius Numazianus some time after, in the following verses:

Alphææ veteris contemplor originis urbem
 Quam geminis cingunt Arnus et auxer aquis.
 Conum pyramidis coeuntia flumina ducunt
 Intratur modico frons patefacta solo.
 Sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen,
 Et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit.

It is not well known at what time the Serchio was divided from the Arno; both these rivers throw themselves into the sea at a distance of six miles. It is strange how such an account should have escaped the diligence of the exact Gibbon, (Antiquities of the House of Brunswick,) who has considered them always united. That they have been always disunited, and that the small Oseri is indicated in the *Azur*, cannot be sustained because the descrip-

commerce and navigation; particularly in times when these were carried on with small vessels. We consequently find that she was rich and mercantile in early times, and frequented by all the barbarous nations; which can be inferred from the ridiculous complaint made against her by the still more ridiculous poet, Donizone*. Maritime nations have always been powerful, both in riches and the useful knowledge acquired by navigation.

Down to the end of the fifteenth century, almost all the navigation of the nations of Europe, as well as those of Asia and Africa, which kept a correspondence and commerce with the former, was limited to the Mediterranean, Adriatic, Archipelago, and Euxine seas; and the first three Italian republics, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, were for a long time mistresses of it. Pisa, as far back as the year 925, was the principal city of Tuscany, according to Luitprand†. In the beginning of the eleventh century, that is, in the year 1004, we find in the Pisan annals, that the latter waged

tions of Strabo and Rutilius consider the *Auxer* as a river almost equal to the Arno; as if this had been a small rivulet, the latter would not have said of the Arno after the conjunction,

Sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen
Et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit.

* Donizone, in his *Life of the Countess Matilda*, written in barbarous Latin verses, laments bitterly that her mother Beatrice should have been buried in Pisa rather than in Canossa, and makes Canossa say thus :

Qui pergit Pisas vidit illic monstra marina
Huc urbs Paganis, Turchis, Libicis, quoque Parthis
Sordida Chaldaeis sua lustrant littora tetri, &c.

† This author, in relating to us that Ugo, invited to the kingdom of Italy, disembarked at Pisa, adds *quæ est Tusciæ Provinciæ caput*.

war with the Lucchese and beat them *; this is the first enterprise of one Italian city against another, which proves that she already acted for herself, and was in great part, if not wholly, liberated from the dominion of the Duke of Tuscany. In the Pisan annals, and ^{Anno Christi, 1004.} in other authors, we meet with a series of enterprises, many of which are obscurely related, or perhaps exaggerated. Thus we find that in the year 1005, in an expedition of the Pisans against the maritime city of Reggio, Pisa being left unprovided with defenders, Musetto, king, or head, of the Saracens, who occupied Sardinia, seized the opportunity of making an invasion; and having sacked the city, departed, or was driven out of it†. Whilst in the mean time the Pisan fleet discomfited them near Reggio, and if we are to believe the same documents took possession of the place, (which however is not asserted by any contemporary writer,) these barbarians stationed in Sardinia, continued, under the ^{1016.} conduct of Musetto, to infest the shore of Italy, and suddenly occupied the city of Luni. The Pontiff

* “*Fecerunt bellum Pisani cum Lucensibus et vicerunt eos ad aquam longam.*”—Ann. Pis. 1004.

† Ann. Pis. Tronci relates that a woman, called Kinseca Gismondi, in the moment of invasion ran crying to the palace of the rectors, and caused the alarm bell to be rung by which the Pisans being assembled, the Saracens were driven out; that a statue was erected in the quarter inhabited by that woman, attacked by the Saracens; and that she has given her name to the said quarter; but the whole account is a fable. More probably this was the quarter inhabited by the Arabs or Chaldeans who carried on traffic in Pisa. In the three languages, Arabian, Chaldean, and Hebrew, the word Kinza or Kinsaia, (although variously pronounced,) signifies meeting, synagogue, and sacred or profane congregation. This probably was the quarter where those foreigners inhabited, and where their church might have been.

Benedict VIII., fearing that they would remain there, is said * to have sent an army; but the pontiffs not being at that time in a condition to have armies, it is more probable that they excited the Genoese and Pisans to chase from a post a powerful enemy, whom, from being equally near to both territories, these two cities had the same interest to expel †. It is related that Musetto could hardly save himself by flight, and that the greater part of those barbarians were cut to pieces, with the queen herself, whose precious ornaments were sent by the pope to the King Henry II. It was very natural for the Pisans and Genoese, who must have been in continual fear of the piracies and invasions of the barbarians as long as they occupied Sardinia, to think seriously of exterminating them from that country: the pope himself sent the Bishop of Ostia in haste to the Pisans as legate, to encourage them to the enterprise: who, joining with the Genoese, conquered Sardinia ‡ by driving out the Saracens; and the pope, by the right he thought he possessed over all the kingdoms of the earth, invested the Pisans with the dominion; not however without exciting the jealousy of the Genoese, who, as they were less powerful in those times, were obliged to yield to force. The mutual necessity of defence from the common enemy kept them united: the barbarians having disembarked in the year 1020 in Sardinia under the same leader, they were again repulsed, and all their treasure which remained

* Ditmar. Chron. Lib. VII.

† It is mentioned in the Pisan annals, anno 1017, "*Pisani et Januenses fuerant bellum cum Mugeto et vicerunt illum.*" Ditmarus places the expedition quoted in the year before, but either some error very common in those times, or the different manner of computing the year, may explain the chronology.

‡ Ann. Pisan. Rerum Ital. Script. tom. 6.

a booty of the conquerors, was conceded to the Genoese as an indemnity for the expense.

The naval power of Pisa continued increasing ; but it is not necessary to say much upon other events, enveloped in the uncertainty and darkness of the times*. The year 1063, however, was very glorious for Pisa. The Pisans sailed with a powerful fleet to attack the city of Palermo, but hardly can we believe they succeeded in taking it, as the Pisan annals tell us: a city so populous, and a warlike people like the Saracens, who occupied it, would not easily concern themselves about the marauding troops that might be in the Pisan fleet: it is therefore more probable, as Malaterra relates, that a host of mussulmen pouring down to its defence from the neighbouring country at the appearance of the fleet, and uniting with the citizens, the Pisans contented themselves (after having broken the chain which shut up the port) with burning four ships, and bringing away the richest of them ; the very large value of which enabled them to commence their magnificent cathedral†.

The enthusiasm for Crusades was in the mean time kindling ; an enterprise so much commended in ancient times, and reprobated in the present. The religious enthusiasm and ignorance of the age concealed what reason and sound policy might have clearly demonstrated.

* Such are the taking of Carthage, anno 1035, of the city of Lipari with the sacking of that island, and the conquest of Rome (Sigon. de Regno Ital. Ann. Pis. Tronci); and other similar enterprises that are related in the Pisan annals *Rerum Italic. Script.*, and in those of Tronci.

† This is related in one of the principal inscriptions placed in the façade of the Dome, where however no mention is made of the taking of Palermo ; which, if it had been true would not have been passed over in silence in the inscription.

An expedition so distant would then have been disapproved, of which, even if attended with a happy issue, it was easy to foresee the conquest could not be long held by the christians; nor should an enlightened religion have suffered the effusion of so much innocent blood. It was certainly honourable for christians to possess a soil, on which the Author of their religion was born, lived, and by his death fulfilled the mystery of redemption; the sight of this soil might inspire sacred thoughts and incite to virtuous acts; and however these may be acceptable to heaven in all countries, still the enterprise will be always looked upon with a respectful eye, not so much for the religious veneration attached to it, without examination; as from being rendered immortal, and placed in the mouths of both learned and unlearned, by one of the most sublime and sweetest pieces of poetry which human genius has produced, in which all is heroism, and almost all religion. The cool historian, however, who views these events with an impartial eye, sees many millions of deluded people led to sacrifice; obliged to plunder for subsistence; inspiring an equal horror both in friends and foes; dying for the greater part of fatigue or by the sword, losing themselves on the road, few arriving at the difficult conquest, and wading up to the holy sepulchre through the plunder, cruelty and blood with which they inundated Jerusalem*.

* The horrible slaughter made by the pious warrior in the temple of Solomon, described by Tasso, (Canto 19,) is an historical fact, with the sole difference that instead of Rinaldo, with whom Tasso chose to honour the house of Estè, there was Tancredi. —“In templo se concluserunt, ergo Tancredus cum suis adveniēns, expugnare eos cœpit nec mora fores patefactæ cædes immensa peracta est, adeo ut in cruore peremptorum, pedes nostrorum tenus suras pene tingerentur, neque fœminis, neque parvulis pepercerunt,”—*Gesta Dei per Francos*.

To this enterprise, at this time so glorious, the maritime powers of Italy advanced; the Venetians, the Genoese, the Pisans, induced equally by love of religion and of lucre. They were the purveyors of those armies, and carried with them provisions, arms, and ammunition, and enriched themselves with the spoils of Asia. Tasso, who has followed the true events of the holy war with so much precision, who frequently makes honourable mention of the Genoese, and in whose verses the Ligurian William, builder of the fatal tower, is so much distinguished, has forgotten the Pisans*. But he was not to blame; since, commanded by their Archbishop Daimbert, they arrived late at the enterprise†. Although they had so little right to conquest, the power of the Pisans and their archbishop is evinced in his indiscreet pretensions.

Created Patriarch of Jerusalem, by that authority by which the popes arrogated to themselves the temporal sovereignty of the world, of which Daibert was the viceroy, the latter pretended to be arbiter of the new kingdom. The pious Geoffrey condescended to receive

* Guarini, no friend of Tasso, notes this omission as animosity in that sonetto upon the game of the bridge.

Quale or di guerra in simulacro armata
 Di valore indivisa Arno divide,
 E qual fu sempre, ove più Marte ancide,
 Pisa a pugnare invitta, a vincer nata;
 Tal da penna famosa invidiata
 Pagnar Goffredo in sul Giordan la vide
 E schiere dissipar Perse, e Numide
 Di sacre spoglie, e più di gloria ornata.
 Se tal era d' Etruria il vinto stuolo
 Al periglioso varco, allor che volse
 L' intrepido Romano a lei la fronte;
 La fama, che cantò d' Orazio solo
 Contro Toscana, or narreria, che tolse
 Un sol Toscano a tutta Roma il ponte.

† See Gesta Dei per Francos.

the possession of it from him: a quarter of the city was granted to the church upon the condition that at the death of Geoffrey without succession, or when new acquisitions had increased the kingdom, the holy city, together with Jaffa, should return to the sovereign power, that is, to the church. The extent of the Pisan authority in that city is confirmed by the name of *Pisan Castle*, which was given to the ancient tower, called the tower of David, where Tasso, after the taking of the city, makes Soldan seek shelter with Aladin.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORIGIN OF FLORENCE.—HER INCREASE.—SITUATION OF HER WALLS.—PANDECTS FOUND BY THE PISANS IN AMALFI.—VARIOUS REPUBLICS IN TUSCANY—GOVERNMENT OF SIENNA.—ENTERPRISE OF THE BALEARI, UNDERTAKEN BY THE PISANS.—OTHER ACQUISITIONS AND POWER OF THE SAME.

FLORENCE became free, although later than Pisa, by the same causes, which, in their slow operation, first weakened, and afterwards destroyed, the power of the emperors and dukes over the cities of Tuscany. The greater power, which riches, the fruit of commerce, gave the latter city, was probably the cause of her enjoying her freedom prior to Florence.

For a long time Florence was only a small city, and of little consequence. Indebted for her rise probably to the industry of those who transported their merchandise from the sea, and the rich and commercial city of Pisa, by the convenience of the Arno to the populous Fiesole, her inhabitants first established themselves upon the shore of that river, particularly on the side of the latter place: when, either by art or the slow operations of nature, the stony obstruction at the *golfolina**, was broken and laid open, which probably prevented the free course of the Arno, the waters left the Florentine plain uncovered†. Industry and commerce, bringing with them riches and

* Small basin of water in the river Arno, so called.

† See the Introduction. Landini too attests it:

Sillanus primus fugiens asperissima montis,
Purgavit nostros arte colonus agros,
Atque Arnun recta contractum undique lymphis
Obice disrupto compulit ire via,

population, the city increased, and its convenient situation gradually allured to it the inhabitants of Fiesole. Thus Florence, the daughter of the latter, increased by drawing away from her mother her inhabitants* ; particularly when the inroads of the barbarians of the north having ceased, the secure situation of a mountain became less necessary ; and the rising strength of the daughter had increased to a degree to enable her to resist, equally with her mother, the casual violence both of feudal lords and of rival cities.

That Florence was a Roman colony, descended from Sylla, was a common belief of the historians of that city, supported rather upon uncertain tradition than authentic documents. Poliziano has demonstrated that the colony was derived from the Triumvirs, Augustus, Mark Antony, and Lepidus† ; and if, when speaking as a poet, he has called Florence a Syllan city‡, when writing afterwards, as a critic, he shews us her true origin from the authority of Frontinus§. To the Cæsarian colonist soldiers two hundred acres of land were assigned ; and it is very probable, that by these veteran warriors the statue of Mars was afterwards erected, which was in preservation down to the lower ages ; and, the temple to this god being built, it was afterwards converted into that of the Baptist||.

* E il fiorentino popolo maligno
Che discese da Fiesole ab antiquo,
E tiene ancor del sasso, e del macigno, &c.—DANTE.

† Epist. lib. 1. epist. 2. ad Petrum Medic.

‡ Elegia in obitu Albieræ Albitiæ.

§ Juli Front. de Agrorum Mensuris. See Borghini upon the Origin of Florence.

|| Antiquarians are divided upon this temple, some believing that it has always been a baptistery, even the statue of Mars is believed by many to have been the statue of some ancient Roman, patron of the colony : and if it really was equestrian, the opinion is just,

Even the name of Florentia is a matter of great controversy. Among so many conjectures, the most probable appears to be that which deduces it from the name of flowers, (*fiori*;) or Florentine lilies, with which the country was covered*. Be this as it may, the infancy of cities,

because the god Mars was not represented on horseback. Besides these monuments, antiquarians have found in the city vestiges of the circus, baths, and other ancient edifices. Whoever finds pleasure in such accounts may consult Borghini, Dissertation upon the Origin of Florence, Manni in many dissertations, &c. For the temple of St. John look at Mai, Letter to Borghini; but particularly Gio. Battista Nelli, who upon very solid reasons believes it erected in the times of the Lombards.

* Perhaps Arva Florentia was converted into Fiorenza, which is confirmed too from the coin of the florin, on which is stamped the same flower, from Santa Maria del fiore, and from many testimonies it being easy too to convert one lily into another, or change the colour of it, as often happens in factions. "Campus erat ad Munionis ripas florum omni genere, sed præcipue liliorum fecundissimus."—Scala Hist. Flor.; and at that time the Mugnone passed through the city. Vettori (*Fior. illust.*) maintains that the word alone Florentia signifies *gigli*, (lilies,) quoting the same from the second book of the Paralipomeni, &c. Mensachio explains the word Florentia by flores liliorem. Doctor Lami, in his lessons of Tuscan antiquities, (Lesson 1, 2, &c.), has pretended to maintain that Florence was built by the ancient Etrurians; many of his conjectures are very weak, some ingenious, but all together incapable of proving it. To believe it an Etrurian city, because its building is not mentioned in the Roman history, is a very weak argument. Few cities have been solemnly built in a manner that historians might give an account of them; many have risen from a few houses joined together, and increased insensibly; and from favourable circumstances, from obscure castles become great cities, as has happened at Florence. Etrurian documents having been excavated in Florence, or rather in the neighbourhood, proves only that Florence has been built upon Etrurian soil. If upon some desert land, under which have been found important Etrurian monuments, towns or castles, had been built before, the discovery of those documents would not characterize those castles as Etrurian: to conclude, all the dark conjectures

for the most part, as well as of men, is buried in oblivion. This infancy continued long enough in the city of Florence; and, if we except the transient flame of valour in the Florentines in sustaining the siege of Radagastus, she did not begin her course of splendour until constituted a republic.

The extent of her walls was very small, and the whole city was on the right bank of the Arno. This was the first line: beginning at the east, at the corner of the Pazzi, was the gate called St. Peter's from the church of this name, which was situated outside it; hence the walls extended towards the north to Santa Maria in Campo, and afterwards towards the Canto alla Paglia, but making a bow where at present the street of the Servi begins, there was a small gate, and another similar to it where the Via de' Martelli at present commences; the second principal gate was at the Canto alla Paglia, called Gate of the Dome or the Bishop; after which, by a curve of the walls, the third gate was arrived at, called St. Pancras, from the church of that name situated without it. Turning towards the south was a small gate, or postierla, called Rossa, near the place which still retains the name; then was the last gate, called Santa Maria, also from a church of the same name*; whence making a circuit of the walls to the place

of that learned man are of no avail, to counterbalance the perpetual silence of writers upon the existence of Florence in times anterior to the derivation from the colony, and if it was a considerable Etrurian city, adorned with theatres, amphitheatres, baths, &c. &c., of Etrurian work and ages, as the author maintains, it would have been sometimes mentioned as Etrurian by ancient historians and geographers.

* That church being destroyed, or its name changed, and the gate altered, the place has continued to be called Porta Santa Maria. Ammirato says, "We should in vain seek to find any trace of the

where the palace of the Judges of Rote stands, and at that time probably a castle, called Altafronte, including S. Piero Scheraggio and the abbey, the gate of St. Peter was returned to. Within this small space was included ancient Florence, and a single bridge at that time without the city, where the Arno is most narrow, served for this small population, which, being the most ancient of all the bridges, still preserves the name of *ponte Vecchio* (old bridge)*. The city, beginning to be liberated from an oppressive government, and increasing in strength, the population also soon increased; and many suburbs were built without the first line, which becoming very extensive, it became necessary to cover them from the assaults of the enemy, and to augment the public revenue by the taxes of the gates, surrounding the new part of the city with walls. The church of St. Peter's being situated here, the gate of this name was built near it, whence turning towards the street that passes before Santa Maria Nuova, Saint Lawrence appeared, which was comprehended in it, and that gate took the name. Hence the Arno was arrived at by a circular road, in which space were two gates,—that is, Gate of St. Paul, (Porta a San Paolo,) and Porta Carraga upon the Arno, and between these two small gates; afterwards the walls flanked the river as far as the Castle of Altafronte, or Palace of the Judges, where, leaving the river, they again united with the Gate of St. Peter. This work was begun in the year 1078, and continued for many years. In the space of the two following ages it had so much increased, particularly upon the left bank of the Arno, that it became necessary to surround it

church from which it took its name, being situated further back, and called S. Biagio.

* Malasp, Villani, Varchi, Ann.

with new walls, ann. 1285,) which was carried into execution by an illustrious architect, Arnolfo di Lapo, a line which remains, with some variation, in our times.

The precise epoch in which Florence, wholly liberated from the dominion of the dukes of Tuscany, formed herself into a republic, is not well known. As, however, the bridle with which they governed her was becoming continually more slack, we frequently discover acts of a free city exercised by Florence and other cities, perhaps in those intervals when the power of the dukes was either weakened, or in their absence. Some however of the facts related by ancient historians, are with much reason denied by moderns*. Thus it is now regarded as a fable, that the Florentines, to whom Fiesole gave umbrage, although the latter had so much decreased, in the solemn festival of San Romulus, which was solemnized in that city, went up in a numerous body when the Fiesolans least expected it, took possession of the town by force of arms, and dismantling the houses, obliged the inhabitants to come down to Florence†. We have only scanty and uncertain accounts of the events of this city until the end of the twelfth century, in which we perceive the republic was established, and begin to be better acquainted with the constitution of the government.

In this no small space of time, in which Florence was not wholly either subject or free, we find events in the ancient historians which participate greatly of romance, and we shall therefore pass rapidly over them.

* Murat. Ann. d' Ital. an. 1010.

† The documents of the year 1027, shew us in the diploma of Conrad I., the Fiesolan district distinct from the Florentine; its bishop still existed, and the letters of Jacopo, bishop of that city, mentioned by Ughelli, speak of *Civitatis Fesulanæ*: that city was not therefore destroyed.

The maritime power of these republics caused their assistance to be sought for frequently by various powers: Robert II., Prince of Capua, in spite of the possession and the succours of Pope Honorius II., had been driven from his dominion by the celebrated Ruggieri II., count, and afterwards king of Sicily; and, notwithstanding the crusade proclaimed in his favour, Robert found himself obliged by the pope himself to take shelter in Pisa, and ask the aid of the republic. Moved by religious zeal and by gold, the Pisans got a fleet ready, and upon the report of Ruggieri being dead, transported Robert to Naples with twenty large ships, where, being received with that applause which the instability of the people are accustomed to shew to every prince newly arrived, he thought he would make himself master of the kingdom in one moment. The Pisan fleet was afterwards increased with twenty ships more, with which the coast was laid waste, towns sacked, and among these Amalfi; decayed indeed from her ancient glory and power, but still very rich*. The booty of the Pisans was great, but the most precious part of it is said to have consisted in the pandects which had been lost or almost forgotten in Italy. The fact, however, is controverted, and this is not the place to examine it critically†; but supposing it true, it is very honourable to the Pisans, that, in that age so little enlightened, in the midst of ferocious and greedy warriors, any person should be found who esteemed this work sufficiently to think it worthy of adorning his country. The Florentine republic deemed the precious manuscript a trophy worthy of her victories; and after the conquest of Pisa, transported it to Florence,

* *Chronica varia Pisana*, Murat. *Rerum Ital.* t. 6.

† We shall speak further upon this subject in its place.

1135. where it is still regarded by foreigners with a venerable curiosity. The supposed acquisition of the pandects has made the Pisan expedition more celebrated than the conquest of the Baleari or islands of Majorca or Minorca, and the questions subsequently started upon that code have contributed to illustrate the history of that republic; but the enterprise did not end happily for the Pisans.

Ruggieri was still alive: the death of his endeared wife had thrown him into a deep melancholy by which invisible to every one he kept himself shut up in his room, and the public always greedy of novelty and ready to convert it into fact, had imagined he was dead. Recovering from his melancholy, the active Ruggieri, at the news of the invasion of Robert and the Pisans, flying rapidly from Sicily to the continent, and having found

1137. the Pisans at the siege of Fratta, defeated them, making many prisoners* and obliged them to retreat precipitately with Prince Robert to Pisa. At the arrival however in Italy of the Emperor Lotharius III., who supported the Pope and occupied Calabria and Puglia, the Pisans with a great army assisted the enterprise by occupying and sacking many cities of the coast and besieging Salerno, from whence, either by spite conceived against the Emperor and the Pope, or from another motive not well known, they retired †. For a long time the Pisans signalized themselves in maritime expeditions, were almost always enemies of the Genoese, and frequently of the Venetians ‡; these were the powers that contended for the empire of the seas.

* Breviar. Pisanæ Historiæ Mur. Rer. Ital. tom. 6.

† Romual. Paler. Chron. Rer. Ital. tom. 7.

‡ Dandol. in Chron. Rer. Ital. tom. 13.

The land expeditions which took place in Tuscany at these times amongst the cities recently become free, are not of great importance. Besides the Florentine and Pisan various other republics had risen in Tuscany, as we have already observed. Lucca, mentioned often by classic writers*, was an ancient colony of the Romans. In the lower ages, however, her celebrity became greater; having been frequently the capital of Tuscany or the seat of the dukes and marquises†, and having shortly afterwards changed the form of government, for the power to which she was raised by the genius and valour of one of her citizens‡.

The origin of Sienna is not so recent as has been the opinion of many writers§. This city was also a colony of the Romans||; and from being created such in the

* Cicer. Liv. Vell. Pater. Tolom., &c., was an established Roman colony one hundred and twenty-eight years before the Christian era. Vell. Pater. lib. 1. Liv. lib. 41. Disputes are mentioned between the Pisans and Lucchese respecting territory. Liv. lib. 45.

† Fiorentini, Memorials upon the Countess Matilda.

‡ Castruccio. Castracani Antelminelli.

§ The history of Giov. Vill., book 1. c. 56., is full of anacronisms upon the origin of Sienna. Biondo Flavio and Leonardo Bruni support their assertions upon unstable foundations. Strabo, Tolomeo, and Pliny mention it among the cities of Tuscany. The *Sena Gallica* or Sinigaglia is of more ancient origin, called by the Senon Gauls, “et claris, et rubicon, et Senonum de nomine Sena.”—To the Tuscan Sennese must be applied the story of Tacitus, that by them probably the senator Manlius was beaten with fists (as no mention is made of sticks). A conjectural antiquarian might find in such an event the disposition of that people to the game with fists. “Manlius patritius senator pulsatum se in colonia Senensi cœtu multitudinis, et jussu magistratum quærebatur vocati qui arguebantur et cognita causa in convictos vindicatum, additumque senatus consultum, quo Senenses modestiæ, admonentur.

|| In the ancient itineraries, we find Julian Sienna often put to indicate Tuscan Sienna. Pliny relates the colonies established,

reign of the Julian family, probably of Augustus, was called Julian Sienna. Her celebrity, however, begins at the epoch of the Italian republics. Like Florence and Pisa she continued enlarging her territory by subjugating the feudal lords, and extended as far as the sea over the desolated places of Populonia and Roselle, engaged in commerce, to which the port of Talamone opened a convenient passage, and which became serviceable afterwards to the Florentine republic, when the Pisan port was shut against the Florentine vessels. Her government was similar in a great degree to that of Florence; mixed of nobility and people, and consequently turbulent, those two orders frequently contending for the supreme authority, and alternately wresting it from each other's hands.

Sienna rivalled in power for a short time even Florence herself. Pisa and Florence, at this time always allies, were at war with Lucca and Sienna, also confederates; the Count Guido Guerra of the celebrated family that had so much dominion in Italy was united with them, but the Lucchese and Siennese were defeated, and the

“Falisca, Rusellana, Senensis,” &c. lib. 3. c. 5. The ingenious author, *Chorographiæ Italiæ Medii Ævi*, corrects Cluverius, who asserts that Sienna was not mentioned before the times of Augustus, quoting a passage of Appian, *Alessand. Guerr. civil. tom. 1.*, where we read that Pompey in the war of Sylla against Marius and Carbone, beat Marius near Sienna, and gained the city. But does he mean the Tuscan Sienna or the Gallican, that is, Sinigaglia? It is at least uncertain. Knowing too from the prior account that Pompey had defeated Carbone near Rimini, that Sylla, in whose favour Pompey carried on the war, besieged Marius in Præneste, it is easy to conjecture that Pompey, after the first victory advanced towards Sylla to give him aid, and that Sienna, where the fact took place, was the Gallic Sienna. The tale of Plutarch too may confirm our conjecture.—Life of Pompey.

castles of Count Guido destroyed by the Florentines : the Siennese, taken in ambush, were nearly all made prisoners, and the territory of Lucca was sacked by the Pisans*. The courage with which the republics we have mentioned fought amongst themselves, either by impulse of factions, or ambition of surpassing each other gives rise to the sorrowful reflection, that if united, they would have been able to arrest and drive back the foreign invaders, who have desolated Italy for so many ages.

The Pisans, who were becoming one of the first maritime powers, having prepared the expedition against Majorca possessed at that time by the Saracens, were disturbed by the Lucchese their neighbours and enemies. In these expeditions they put the greater part of the nation, fit to bear arms, upon their vessels ; the women, children, and old people only remaining at home, a body ill adapted to defence, the city might easily be taken and many of the inhabitants made slaves ; hence they had recourse to the Florentines, who sent people to Pisa sufficient for its defence. The Florentine captain, wishing to avoid the irregularities that even a friendly body of troops usually introduce into a city where it is stationed, encamped two miles without Pisa, issuing the

1114. strictest orders that none of his soldiers should dare to enter it. One alone disobeyed, was taken and condemned to death : the Pisans interceded in his favour with the greatest earnestness ; but the captain, inexorable to all intercession, ordered him to be hanged.

The expedition against the Baleari is one of the most glorious for the Pisans. Religion, honour, interest, alike animated them to destroy a nest of Saracen corsairs, who, in the midst of the Mediterranean, insulted the coasts of

* Annal. Pis. tom. V. Rer. Ital.

France and Italy infested the sea by carrying the Christians into captivity, interrupting and ruining commerce. The pontiff Pasqual II. instigated them to this useful and glorious undertaking, and twelve ambassadors were sent to him to concert upon it ; at the head of whom was their Archbishop Peter, afterwards the leader of the expedition. The pope sent the Cardinal Bosone as his legate, and gave the Pisans standards and indulgences.

It was difficult to attack islands peopled with a warlike nation, and which might receive assistance from the neighbouring coasts of Africa and Spain, governed in a great part too by the Saracens, nor was it sufficient to make a successful disembarkation ; it became necessary to lay siege to very strong places, which siege, according to the method pursued in the wars of those days, lasted very long : the provisions and the complicated machines for this purpose were also to be brought from afar. Not deterred however by these obstacles, the Pisans undertook the enterprise. Besides the Archbishop Peter, principal leader, we read of the names of Gherardeschi, Gualandi, Visconti, which were always celebrated in the Pisan History. The feudal lords, who, ruling over the coasts of Provence, Languedoc and Catalonia, desired the destruction of those barbarians, such as William Lord of Montpellier, Almeric of Narbonne, Raimond Count of Barcelona, came in person with great reinforcements. The Genoese alone, although they had the same interest, made only vain promises : perhaps they looked upon the enterprise as very difficult ; but they were not at all sorry that the Pisan power, perhaps the predominant in the Mediterranean, might be humbled by misfortune. If accounts are not exaggerated, the Pisan fleet consisted of three hundred vessels * large and small.

* Tronci Ann. Pis. Ann. 1114.

The islands that extend from the coast of Valencia towards the south are three; Ivica the nearest to the shore, Minorca the most distant, and Majorca, situated in the middle. It appears that the Pisans began the attack upon the first*; and after repeated assaults during ten days, made themselves masters of the principal cities, the fortifications of which they completely ruined, setting at liberty great numbers of christian slaves; then passing on to the principal island, viz., Majorca, where the enemy had collected his principal force, they met with the greatest resistance. Before the Pisans approached the principal city, they sustained fierce attacks from the Saracens, who assailed them both in the open field and in battle array†. More than once defeated, however, they retreated to their chief town, where they were besieged; and for a long time the fortune of war was various. In the different assaults, William of Montpelier, Americo of Narbonne, and the Count of Barcelona, who was badly wounded, besides various Pisans, distinguished themselves greatly; the Pisans, however, were repeatedly repulsed and insulted by the Moors. The length of the siege, the bad nourishment, and unwholesome air gave rise to a dangerous epidemic in the army: the auxiliary lords threatened to abandon the enterprise; provisions and money were deficient, despondency had taken possession of them, accompanied with the desire of retreat. This news arriving at Pisa, fresh attempts were made and the defenders took new courage, who

* Tronci confounds it with Minorca, which he calls Ebusus. It is known that Ebusus was Ivica. Cluver. *Introd. ad Geograph.* lib. 2. cap. 7.

† We must not give credit to the exaggerations of the Pisan Annals, and of Tronci, who makes the Saracens amount to 70,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and 4,000 archers.

having at various times gone beyond the triple circuit of the walls, finally took the city by assault; but the Moors contended for it inch by inch. Minorca soon followed the fate of the principal island*. The number of Mussulmen slain, of Christians freed from their chains, exceeds all probability: the booty was immense, the gold, gems, and precious spoils, fruits of so many years' rapine of those corsairs, fell a prey to the conquerors, and were divided amongst them. The fame of this victory filled the whole christian world with joy. The Pisans returned in triumph. The conquered soil did not appear a decent sepulchre for their dead, whence the most distinguished amongst them were embarked; and, in order not to cloud the joy of the return by this mournful spectacle, they were buried in Marseilles in the abbey of St. Victor, with an inscription which was still in existence in the times of Tronci. Among the prisoners that adorned the triumph, were the wife and son of the king of Majorca, Nuzzaradeolus, who was killed during the siege, and Burabé who had succeeded him. The queen and the son became Christians†. This young man, who is described as wise and modest, who is numbered among the canons of the cathedral of Pisa, and who was afterwards, according to Tronci, sent back to govern his native country Majorca, as king, or at least governor, is one of the many examples of the

* Tronci Ann. Pisan. Ann. 1116. "Breviarum Hist. Pisanæ Rerum Italic. Script. tom. 6. Gesta Triumphal. Pisan. ibid.

† These facts are attested by the following inscription placed in the façade of the cathedral:

Regia me genuit, Pisæ rapuere
 Hic ego cum nato bellica præda fui.
 Majoricæ regnum tenui, nunc condita saxa
 Quod cernis jaces sine potita meo
 Quisquis es ergo . . . memor esto conditionis,
 Atque pia pro me mente precare Deum.

chance of fortune. The Pisans, out of the rich booty they had gained, made a present to the Florentines of the two columns of porphyry which are still standing near the gate of St. John, in token of gratitude to them as guardians of their city. This enterprise was finished in the space of about two years*; it might have been a theme worthy of an epic poem, since the religion, glory, and public advantage of the nations that navigate in the Mediterranean were adapted to awaken heroism more than the enterprise of the Argonauts, or the siege of Troy; and if the deacon Peter Vernese, who, in a barbarous style, has sung that enterprise in seven books of Latin verses, had possessed the imagination and education of Homer, of Virgil, and Torquato, the deeds of the Gherardeschi, of the Gualandi, of the Visconti, which are now covered with oblivion, would be re-echoed in the mouths of the Italians †.

* Tronci says that the Pisans set out in the year 1114, 6th Aug., and that the enterprise was finished 3d April, 1117. But he is mistaken. There is, however, much confusion in the chronology, since in the chronicle, entitled "*Gesta Triumph Pisan*," the taking of Majorca and the return of the Pisans is placed in the year 1116. Ughelli, in the catalogue of the Pisan archbishops, infers with more certainty, that the enterprise was finished in the years 1114 and 15, and the poet L. Vernense, more respectable than all, because a contemporary writer and author of a Latin poem where the expedition is described, finishes it with these verses :

Tunc fuit a Christo teuto velamine carnis
Centenus quintus decimus millesimus annis.

He was deacon of the Archbishop Peter; his country, however, is not known; some have thought him a Veronese, by changing Vernensis into Veronensis: might he not have been of Vernio? His poem is found in Tom. 6. Murat. Rer. Ital. Script. For this enterprise see the quoted poem; Tronci; "*Gesta Triumphalia per Pisanos: Breviarum Pisanæ Historiæ, &c.*," joined fragments in Tom. 6. Rerum Italic. Script.

† The power of letters, and particularly of poetry, in giving or

Such a conquest greatly increased the power of the Pisan republic. On the principal coasts of the seas at that time navigable, she had great establishments: by the possession of Corsica, of Sardinia, of the Baleari, she ruled over a great part of the western Mediterranean, with those of Syria the eastern, possessed a fort near Asof in the Black Sea, to which she had given the name of Pisan Port, and which she still preserved down to the fifteenth century. These establishments made her commerce very flourishing; it is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that her perpetual rival Genoa, which had seen the enterprise of the Baleari terminate with a success so different from what she had anticipated, increased in jealousy. War broke out between them; they fought with various fortune, but the successes are differently related by the Genoese and Pisan historians*. To the jealousy of commerce they
 1120. added vanity; the Genoese ill brooked that the bishops of Corsica should be subject to the archbishop's seat of Pisa. The Pope Callistus II., who took from the Archbishopric of Pisa that ornament, instead of quenching, added fuel to the flame. This piratical war continued a long time, and the issue of it appears not to have been favourable to the Pisans†.

taking away reputation, will be always very great in spite of its detractors, and the golden saying of Horace will always prove true:

. non semel Ilios vexata non pugnavit ingens
 Idomeneus, Stenelusve solus
 Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
 Multi, sed omnes illacrimabiles
 Urgentur orco ignoque longa nocte, carent quia nate sacro.—

Lib. 4. Ode 9.

* See Caffrar. lib. 1. Ann. Pis. Murat. Rerum Italic. tom. 6.

† Caffar. lib. 1. Ughelli Ital. Sacra.

CHAPTER IX.

DESCENT IN ITALY OF FREDERIC THE FIRST.—DIET OF RONCAGLIA, — IMPERIAL RIGHTS TO THE REGALIA ADMITTED.—REBELLION OF THE ITALIAN CITIES, AND THE LOMBARD LEAGUE.—PEACE OF CONSTANCE.—NEW LEAGUE OF THE CITIES OF TUSCANY.—POSSESSION OF SARDINIA GIVEN BY FREDERIC TO THE PISANS.—EVENTS IN THE EAST.—ENMITY BETWEEN THE PISANS AND GENOESE.

THE republican governments of the Italian cities continued to be more and more consolidated, and even in the midst of the turbulencies which agitated them, became rich and powerful by commerce. Against their rising liberty and industry, however, a dangerous tempest was forming itself. The want of strength and wisdom in the past emperors had so much weakened the reins of the royal government over them, as finally to give them the opportunity of setting themselves at liberty.

Frederic I. of the house of Suabia had succeeded to the imperial throne; a prince full of talent, courage, and pride, greedy of glory and of dominion, who ill brooking the loss of his imperial rights over Italy came with a powerful army to re-conquer them. His presence scattered terror on every side. The Lombard cities, against which his march was principally directed, were disunited among each other, and could not
1120. oppose to him any effectual resistance. The Milanese, already guilty in his eyes of having despised the imperial orders, particularly incurred his anger: Milan, closely besieged, was constrained to the most humiliating capitulation; a prelude to its total destruction, which

happened four years afterwards by the same arms. In the mean time all the cities of Lombardy, alarmed by this active emperor, having received an intimation to send their deputies to the diet of Roncaglia, immediately obeyed. In this diet Frederic explained at length the imperial rights over Italy, remonstrated against the violation of them, and in order that a tint of equity might colour what was not sufficiently maintained by force of arms, among the ecclesiastic and secular princes and the deputies of the cities*; he caused some of the most celebrated professional lawyers of the university of Bologna to be present at the diet, Bulgaro, Gosia, Jacopo and Hugo, who were to decide upon the right of the regalia, which were become a controversy between the Italian cities and the empire. No science is more flexible than law, and the subtilty of interpretations is capable of discovering reasons invisible to the eye of common sense. Those lawyers, who were highly honoured and rewarded by Frederic, failed not in finding the imperial pretensions most just, which the deputies of the cities did not contradict, considering, that a powerful sovereign at the head of a numerous army could not be in the wrong. The regalia were therefore unanimously conceded to him†. The officers however and the mayors, sent by the emperor to govern the subject cities, exercised with severity a command, which even mild would have been ill borne by a

* Pisa was of the party of Frederic, and as deputies and lawyers to the diet for that city Tacito Dusdi, Onorio Lanfranchi, and Rosso Bottacci, all three doctors, were honourably received by the emperor.—Tronci Ann. Pis.

† The regalia are explained by Radevico, lib. 2. cap. 5 —“ Tum episcopi quum primates et civitates uno assensu, uno ore in manum principis regalia reddi olere Ducatus, marchius, comitatus, consulatus, monetus, felonia, fodrum, vectigalia, portus, pedatica,” &c.

people accustomed to a free government. The oppressed cities rebelled, and taking a lesson from prior events united together, forming the celebrated Lombard league; which was fomented by the pope, the king of Naples, and even by the Greek emperor, enemies of Frederic. This alliance was sufficiently powerful to oppose the force of Frederic, whose army being consumed at the siege of Rome by an epidemic common enough in that air, found himself obliged to retreat with the miserable
 1183. remains of his warriors, and after slight skirmishes and fruitless endeavours, he abandoned Italy, precipitately, and was obliged to save himself in disguise. Anxious, however, to recover his authority over the rebelled cities, he returned with a larger army. After various useless negotiations the imperial army came to action with that of the allied cities between Legnano and the Ticino: the battle was bloody and obstinate, but the imperial army was completely defeated, in spite of the greatest proofs of talent and personal valour evinced by Frederic. This blow overturned his power in Italy. He began to listen to the voice of agreement; and finally, after various negotiations, the celebrated peace of Constance was concluded, whereby the privileges and the liberty of the Lombard cities were established*. No Tuscan city had interfered in these events, nor had joined the confederacy; but even these, irritated at the intolerance of the German government, shook off the yoke, and the principal cities of Tuscany, Florence, Lucca, Sienna, Arezzo, Perugia, (excepting Pisa, still adhering to the empire), formed amongst them a new confederacy †.

* Sigon. de Regno Ital. lib. 15.

† Vita Innocen. III., apud Mura. Diss. 48.—“Civitates Tusciæ propter importabilem Alemannorum tyrannidem, societatem invicem

By the treaty of peace of Constance, besides acknowledging the liberty of the Lombard cities, Frederic was obliged to cede the regalia. The emperor alone retained the supreme command. The cities elected their consuls, who were to be approved by the emperor, a duty that shortly came into disuse; the appeals to his authority were reserved, together with the right of deciding questions between the community and neighbouring lords: an imperial viceroy was therefore appointed to Italy, and Obizzo D' Este selected for the office: such was the basis upon which the Italian liberty was established.

The Lombard league formed a federative republic, in which every city regulated its own internal affairs, independent of the rest: for the foreign, in which were included the questions of peace, war; and the common safety, a general council was formed of rectors deputed by the various communities, which directed the public and common business. This council decided the disputes which arose amongst the confederate cities: and whatever city refused, such decision, was abandoned by the Lombards. This alliance became very strong, and much benefit was experienced from it, whenever any foreign power threatened Italy; and if it had lasted, would have secured her from the foreign invasions, which became so frequent. Unfortunately, however, for this unhappy country, it was maintained for little more than a century, being destroyed in the faction of the Guelphs and Ghibellines which afterwards arose, and not only divided city from city, but citizen from citizen, and children from their parents by the most sanguinary convulsions.

Pisa, as we have observed, had no share either in the Lombard league, or that of Tuscany. Frederic had

inierunt præter Civitatem Pisanum, quæ nunquam potuit induci ad hanc societatem."

endeavoured by every artifice to gain the friendship of the maritime powers*; it being his design to make use of their power against William King of Sicily.

The importance this warlike sovereign attached to the friendship of the Pisans, is shewn by many facts. Besides the various privileges that he granted to Pisa, he frequently submitted to the arrogant tone, in which she ventured to address him, wherever she thought herself offended: Barisone, a Pisan citizen, one of the judges or governors of the part of Sardinia called *Arborea*; had the vanity to cause himself to be declared king of that island; and offering Frederic 4,000 marks of gold, through the mediation of the Genoese he obtained the title. Not being prepared, however, to pay the money, he was nearly going captive into Germany, when the Genoese paid it for him; but Barisone met with the fate of King Theodore, and remained the insolvent prisoner of the Genoese. The Pisans sent a consul to Frederic, who reproached him for this unjust concession, in lofty terms†; and protested that the Pisans would oppose it with all their power, as in fact they did by the occupation of the *Arborea* by dint of arms.

* The ample concessions made by Frederic to the Pisans are seen in the diploma obtained by Tronci, in which especially cities and lands of Sicily are granted to them under the hope of future conquest. Guntero the Ligurian, lib. 3, describing the passage of Frederic says:

Occurrere duci proceres quos bellica Pisa
Miserat Equoreis celeberrima Pisa triumphis,
Pisa peregrinis statio bene nota carinis,
Hos jubet in Siculum conducto tempore regem
Cogere belligeras atque emunire carinas.

See Tronci, *Annali Pisani*.

† How, said *they to him*, can you for a little money give to others what is not your own?—Foliet. Hist. Genuen. lib. 2.

The following year, however, Frederic, in order to effect a reconciliation with them, and tempted still more by gold, revoked the privilege by ceding Sardinia to the Pisans, and giving the possession of it to their consul; and, in short, Pisa always espoused his interests.

As far back as the year 1167 the Pisans, at the instigation of Frederic, sent twelve galleys upon the Roman coast, which passing up the Tiber near Rome, infested the neighbourhood, by preventing the transport of provisions, and obliged the people to yield to the imperial demands*. Frederic, desirous of the
1187. same services from the Genoese, had endeavoured, but in vain, to effect a reconciliation between the two republics, although his archchancellor Christian, Archbishop of Mayence, when the Pisans would not agree to the conciliatory propositions, banished them the empire. Frederic, however, succeeded afterwards in establishing at least a temporary suspension of hostilities between these two powers †.

The Christians did not preserve Jerusalem, the fruit of so much blood and labour, more than 188 years. Saladin, Soldan of Babylon and Egypt, made the conquest of it. This prince is described both by his friends and enemies, as full of heroism, of generosity, and prudence; and the many accounts of him, several of which probably are fabulous, prove, at least, the opinion of his great qualities; which, when universal, has generally a true foundation. This is probably the hero prognosticated by Ismen in the "Jerusalem Delivered" to the fugitive Soldan, to console him in the midst of his misfortunes, in elegant and sublime verses,

* Ann. Pis. tom. 6. Rer. Ital.

† Annal. Pisan. Caffar. Ann. Genuen. lib. 3.

full of grandeur and truth *. Soldan endeavoured to expel the Christians from the rest of the country which they held in Syria : in the valorous defence that the city of Tyre made against the Asiatic arms, a defence that did so much honour to Conrad, son of the Marquis of Piedmont, the Pisans took no small share, by whose aid he had twice

* Ismen, interrogated by Soldano upon the exit of the war, replies:

Ma ch'io senopra il futuro, e ch'io dispieghi
Dell' occulto destin gli eterni annali,
Tropo e' audace desio, troppo alti preghi,
Non è tanto concesso a noi mortali :
Ciascun quaggiù le forze, e il senno impieghi
Per avanzar fra le sciagure e i mali,
Che sovente addivien che il saggio, il forte
Fabbro di se stesso è di beata sorte.

Ma pur dirò perche piacer ti debbia
Ciò che oscuro vegg' io quasi per nebbia :
Veggio, o parmi vedere anzi che lustrì
Molti rivolga il gran pianeta eterno
Uom che l'Asia ornerà co' fatti illustri,
E del fecondo Egitto avrà il governo :
Taccio i pregi dell' ozio, e l'arti industri
Mille virtù che non ben tutte io scerno :
Basti sol questi a te, che da lui scosse
Non pur saranno le cristiane posse,
Ma infin dal fondo suo l'impero ingiusto
Svelto sarà nelle ultime contese ;
E d' afflitte reliquie entro un angusto
Giro sospinte, e sol dal mar difese,
Questi sia del tuosangue, &c.

It is not to be omitted what Bernardo Tesoriara relates, (*Chronic. cap. 165. Rerum Ital. Script.*), that a great number of Christians, driven from Jerusalem, took shelter at Alexandria in Egypt, where they were well treated and fed by the ministers of Saladin, that the Venetian, Genoese, and Pisan fleets appearing there in March, those were embarked who could pay the passage and the others rejected. Hearing this, the Saracen governor warmly reproached the commanders upon their little charity towards their brethren, whom the generosity of Saladin had saved from slavery ; he caused them to be received on board the fleet and provisioned them with biscuit at his own expense.

before beaten the enemies' ships. The Pisan fleet scouring the seas, took many vessels employed in bringing provisions to the army of Saladin: and following up nine galleys full of ammunition and provisions, obliged the barbarians to set fire to them in order to save them from the enemy*. These repeated losses obliged Saladin to raise the siege of Tyre, who caused his own horse's tail to be cut off, from anger and grief, in order to spur on his soldiers to revenge†. This, however, was but a trifling advantage to the Christians for so many losses, since the three cities, of Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli, alone remained to them of all their conquests.

The news of the loss of Jerusalem, by spreading sorrow and shame throughout Europe, infused a new warmth into hearts which had grown indifferent to the enterprise. The principal personage in this war was the celebrated Frederic Barbarossa, Emperor, who, impelled either by love of glory, by religion, or remorse at so much bloodshed, and outrage done to the pontiffs, thought of satisfying all these passions in an enterprise, taking even his son with him; many Italians joined him, and a large fleet was put to sea by the Venetians, united with the Pisans, commanded by their archbishop Ubaldo.

Whilst the Emperor Frederic was detained in Greece by the treachery and cunning of the Greeks, Guido, king of Jerusalem, whom Saladin had set at liberty, having put himself at the head of the crusaders, who

* *Rerum Ital. Script. Bern. Tesor.*

† *Licar. Epist. Chronic. Rer. Ital. tom. 7.* It is conjectured that this act of Saladin gave rise to the custom of the Turks attaching their horses' tails to the standard for a warlike signal.—*Mur. Ann. d'Ital. an. 1187.*

arrived in great numbers at Tyre from various parts of Europe, and particularly Italy, laid siege to Acri: at the head of the Pisans was their archbishop Ubaldo: whilst the siege was carrying on with the greatest ardour, the vigilant Saladin hastened there with a powerful army, and took up a position in a manner that the besiegers were nearly converted into the besieged. Both sides evinced the greatest proofs of valour; the Christians were nearly overpowered, and were deficient in provisions, when the arrival of a numerous squadron from Friesland and Denmark brought them a supply of troops and all that was necessary.

In the mean time Frederic, who had gone into Asia, after many brave actions, bathing, in order to avoid the heat, in the cold waters of the river Solef in Armenia, had the misfortune, like Alexander the Great, to be surprised by a morbose inflammation, but dissimilar in the result; for in a few hours he was a corpse*.

His son Frederic took the command of the army, and, following his journey towards Acri, lost the greater part of his people; he arrived, however, with a small body at that city, where he shortly after died. The siege continued for nearly two years, the Christians continually receiving fresh succours; when the kings of France and England, finally arriving with very large reinforcements, the city was taken; and the ferocious Richard, King of England, ordered 5,000 Saracens to be cut to pieces. This barbarous action formed a melancholy contrast to the generosity of Saladin we have already related.

In the mean time Henry VI. had succeeded Frederic in the government of the empire; a prince very unlike

* Others say that he was drowned.

his father both in greatness of mind and courage. He had married Constantia, who, being daughter of the King William of Sicily, who had no other progeny, brought with her her rights to that kingdom. At the death, however, of William, his states were usurped by Tancredi, Count of Lecce. The premature death of this Usurper, and of his eldest son Ruggieri, the infancy of a boy left under the care of the Queen Sipilla, invited Henry to re-conquer those states. Ambitious of making an invasion upon Naples and Sicily, he wanted maritime power, and gained the Genoese and the Pisans by the most magnificent promises*. The progress of his armada was at first successful; but an inveterate enmity between the Pisans and Genoese gave rise to great disorder. Their fleets were stationed at Messina: the reciprocal insults, which national hatred always generates, brought them to blows both by sea and land.¹ The destruction and plunder of their magazines in Messina became reciprocal, and the means employed to adjust them by the imperial mediator proved only palliatives.

Henry, having got possession of Sicily, exercised his short command with an iron sceptre. Violating the promise he had given, he imprisoned the queen with her son, whom he had promised to create Duke of Lecce; he ordered many of the principal barons to be put to death or blinded; and insulting even the ashes of the dead, he uncovered the sepulchre of Tancredi and his son Ruggieri, and caused the crown to be torn from

* To the former, besides promising Syracuse, he said—that after God he would acknowledge that kingdom from them; *Eritque non meum sed vestrum*.—Caffar. Ann. Gen. To the Pisans henceforth he conceded the half of Palermo, Messina, Salerno, and Naples, all Gaeta, Trapani, and Mazzera, when they might be conquered.

their heads. He maintained none of his magnificent promises to the Genoese and Pisans; the former he deprived of the right of keeping a consul in the ports of Sicily, and upon their complaining of this great injustice, he threatened them with the destruction of Genoa. He returned to Germany loaded with the gold and execrations of the despoiled provinces.

The enmity and hostilities between the Pisans and Genoese still continued. The former had occupied Syracuse. The Genoese, hearing of this and coming down from the islands of the Levant where they kept a squadron, and not daring to attack them, when arrived at Malta joined to their party Arrigo or Henry, count of that island, a celebrated admiral or pirate of those times, and the two flotillas uniting, attacked Syracuse, and after seven days of obstinate contest, got possession of it, making great slaughter of the Pisans*. In vain did the Pisans, in the following year, endeavour to regain it, although they assailed it both by sea and land. The Count of Malta, who remained governor, bravely repulsed them.

* Caff. Ann. Genuens. lib. 4.

CHAPTER X.

REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT IN FLORENCE.—DEMOLITION OF VARIOUS FEUDAL CASTLES. — INTERNAL DISSENSIONS.—FACTIONS OF THE GUELPHS AND Ghibellines. WARS WITH PISA AND SIENNA.—WARS OF THE PISANS WITH THE GENOESE.—THE EMPEROR FREDERIC THE SECOND AND PETER OF THE VINEYARDS, (PIER DELLE VIGNE.)—DIFFERENT FACTIONS IN TUSCANY.—MONEY COINED IN FLORENCE.—ENTERPRISES OF THE FLORENTINES.—NEW WARS AND ENTERPRISES OF THE PISANS.—DISTURBANCES IN FLORENCE.—BATTLE OF MONTE APERTI BETWEEN THE GUELPHS AND Ghibellines.

IN the mean time the city of Florence had been increasing in population and riches. Her citizens, like the industrious bees, were peaceably employed in manufactures, (particularly in that of cloth, of such universal utility,) which received every encouragement, and the manufacturers were recompensed with premiums. Although the period is not mentioned with certainty, in which Florence became a firm and stable republic, this must have taken place much before the end of the twelfth century. The imperial authority being overthrown by the Lombard confederacy, the independence of the latter, which was acknowledged by the emperor in the treaty of Constance, paved the road to the freedom of the Tuscan cities; and although the latter formed the Tuscan alliance later, and some remains of authority still continued in the hands of the emperors, or rather of their ministers, it soon vanished, and at the beginning of the thirteenth century we find the government of Florence established in a true republican form.

The first magistrates of the free cities were the consuls; a title sacred to the liberty of Roman greatness. The cities of Italy were scarcely free when they appointed these rulers: at different times their number varied; some administered political affairs, and were called greater consuls*; others were intrusted with the civil and criminal pleas. Such magistracies were adopted by the small towns and castles from the desire of imitating the great republics. In the early times, too, the bishop had a share in the political government, particularly when he had received any privilege from the emperor, if he was decorated with the title of count, and when his riches and dominion gave him an extraordinary power, like the Bishop of Arezzo. Some time afterwards, however, either the partiality of the consuls for their friends; the dissensions that arose in the administration; or the discords of the citizens at the elections, occasioned first a diminution of the authority of those magistrates, and gradually the abrogation of it by the institution of the office of mayor. The law ordained that he should be a foreigner, in order that having no ties of friendship or connexions of blood, he should exercise justice with greater integrity, and when the period of his duty had expired, he might resign it without being exposed to the resentment, to which justice, however scrupulously administered, frequently exposes the most immaculate judge. This post was not disdained by the first signiors. The mayor was generally honoured with the military sash; when necessary, he marched at the head of the troops, taking with him a splendid court, and several assessors, or civil and criminal judges, to administer justice. His office was limited to the term of a year, and he rarely obtained a

* Statutes of the city of Pistoia.

re-confirmation in it; no relation, seldom even his wife, could accompany him; the mayor and his servants were also forbidden to enter into familiarity with the inhabitants, or to give or accept dinners or suppers. Upon its first institution the authority of this office being so great, either that the mayor abused it; that the people considered that he favoured the nobility too much, or that republican jealousy could not see without fear the civil and criminal power, and command of the troops united in the same person; the authority became divided, and a captain of the people was created, who not only conducted them to war, but interposed his authority and force in seditions and tumults. The office of the mayor became afterwards limited when the priors were elected, and after them the *Gonfaloniere*, (or *standard-bearer*.) These magistrates were for the most part common to the free cities of Italy, and consequently of Tuscany, not without many variations and modifications at various times, which would be too tedious to detail minutely, and we shall only mention them when the importance of the subject requires it*. At this time Florence had consuls; they are found here and elsewhere even before, but this is no certain proof of perfect liberty†. Besides the consuls whose number is uncertain‡, there were priors of the arts or trades, a mayor, a senator, ten good men, (*Buonumini*) a council general and another private one. To these hands was the government confided: the office

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Diss.

† In the diploma of peace of Constance it is said that the consuls must be confirmed by the emperor, whence we see that such magistrates already existed even before the complete liberty of the Italian cities.

‡ Amm. Ist. Fior. lib. 1.

of mayor, which we find taken notice of even some time before, was firmly established in this year.

For a long time the Florentines took little share in the wars of Italy, and were rather occupied in securing their territory from foreign aggression. Tuscany had been, like the rest of Italy, full of feudal lords, who, situated in mountains, in fortresses, in very strong castles, infested the public roads, by robbing and making prisoners of rich travellers, and making others pay a large price of ransom, who had the misfortune to pass in their vicinity. Such were the Fortress of Montebuoni possessed by the Signiors Buondelmonti; the Mountain of the Cross, by the Counts Guidi; the Castle of Pogna, Mount Orlandi, Mount Caciolli, the nests of these overbearing gentry*. The Florentines, unable to bear such grievances, had already chastised them at various times, either by dismantling the Fortress of Montebuoni, Mountain of the Cross, the strong Castle of Pogna, and many others, or by reducing them to obedience. Semifonte was one of the places which had given most annoyance to the Florentines. Situated in the valley of the Elsa, (Valdelsa,) between Lucardo and Vico, upon a hill, it was very strong in position, walls, and towers. The Counts Alberti had been lords of it, who either conquered or kept in fear by the Florentine power, whilst they were treating of giving it up to this Republic, the Semifontese got intelligence of it, rose, and threw from the windows of the public palace the ruler of the Alberti family, and appointed a small republic of popular government, which, being encouraged by the Siennese to acts of violence against the Florentines, often caused their people to make inroads upon the Floren-

* Amm. Iston. Fior. lib. 1.

tine territory. Although the arms of the latter afterwards reduced them to submission, they again rebelled ; and in the year 1202, the war against Semifonte was undertaken

^{452.} with all vigour by the Florentines, and one of their consuls appointed general. The people of the place defended themselves with an unexpected courage, and often refused an accommodation upon the best conditions which the consuls, who were discouraged by their bold resistance, offered them ; but even with the bravest defence, a place of not more than three hundred houses could not finally oppose the continually increasing power of the Florentines. It was taken by storm ; and, although the lives of the inhabitants were spared, and an agreement entered into whereby they were to remain subjects of the Florentines, either they rebelled again, or whatever might be the cause, Semifonte was at last totally destroyed, and at present we can only point out the naked hill upon which it was situated *. Florence interfered in some other wars of little note, either against the Lucchese or Siennese, and was generally in alliance with the Pisans. The badly-framed republican constitution of Florence, however, soon gave rise to internal divisions. The family of the Alberti was the most rich and powerful. Ill brooking to be subject, like the rest of the citizens, to the common laws, they had already caused Florence sufficient uneasiness ; since in the year 1182 they formed a powerful

* Peace of Certaldo. War of Semif.—Giov. Vill. Ist. lib. 5. cap. 29. I can hardly believe that the Florentine republic dismantled that castle from jealousy, and that its increasing greatness might give them umbrage as Manni and Borghini have believed, (Origin of Florence,) quoting the saying that was in common vogue, *Fiorenza, fatti in là che Semifonte si fà Città*. This may have been said ironically, or in derision of the pride of the Semifontese, a castle of three hundred houses only not being able to give umbrage to a city like Florence, but was dismantled to prevent new rebellions.

association with other families against the government. The city was divided into two parties, and a civil war ensued, which, although it ceased and was renewed according to circumstances, lasted nearly five years*, and terminated only from the weariness of both parties.

This was a prelude only to the sanguinary turbulencies which were about to agitate the Florentine republic. This year gave rise also to the most fatal discord, the cause of which was female beauty. The family of Buondelmonte was one of the first and most wealthy, a family which was once tyrannical and powerful in the country, had been brought to duty by the Florentines, and had established itself in Florence. Buondelmonte, head of the family, an elegant young man, promised to marry a daughter of the Amidei, a family equally powerful. The beauty of another young lady of the family Donati, also of the first rank, struck him so forcibly, and the insinuations of her mother were of such influence, that, abandoning his first engagement, he married Donati. This offence in our days would have no further consequence than that of affixing a kind of stigma upon a frivolous young man, who would incur no other chastisement than the universal execration attendant upon a man without character; but it was otherwise in those times of ferocious and sanguinary habits. The Amidei and their relations considered it a stain to be wiped off only by blood; and on Easter-day, whilst Buondelmonte, dressed in white upon a white horse, was riding from the other side of the Arno towards the houses of the Amidei near Saint Stephen's, passing over the old bridge, they attacked him near the statue of Mars, situated at the foot of the bridge, and killed him †. This

* Ric. Malas. Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib. 1.

† Malasp. cap. 104.

murder threw the city into confusion, which became divided immediately into two parties. The citizens, having taken up arms, and barricaded the roads, fought in the streets, squares, and from the houses and turrets; and continued for years to fight in the most cruel manner.

Upon this occasion another political epidemic infested the city, which already desolated Italy, the origin of which, however much blood it may have cost, has been much disputed,—viz., the faction of the Guelphs and Ghibellines*, the former attaching themselves to the Buondelmonti, the latter to the Uberti, the most powerful family of the other party, and which consequently became the head of it, in lieu of the Amidei. The civil war raged amongst the citizens for a considerable time; but the actions of barbarous valour, which stained the common country, remain buried in an opportune obscurity. A city like Florence, the principal source of her existence being commerce, could not long remain at war without exposing herself to ruin: the citizens therefore, combating between animosity and their own interests, frequently made temporary truces, and again took up arms. The
 1217. ardour, however, awakened by a new crusade

* The most probable opinion is, that this faction took its rise in Germany: here is the passage most authentic to confirm it. “*Factum est sub Conrado II. Suevo qui circiter annum 1025, imperium iniit in pugna quam gessit cum Guelpho Baviariæ Duci . . . cum in ea pugna Guelphi Baviariæ Ducis auxiliares symbolum hoc haberent—Hic Guelphi—qui vero sub Conradi Cæsaris—hic Guibelling—clamarent, quod Conradus in vetustæ nobilitatis pago Waiblingen nutritus esset, inde primum Cæsarianis Guibellini, Pontificiis Guelphi nomen hæsit quod Guelphus Italica Pontificis auxilia contra Conradum Cæsarem adduxit.—Felic. Osi. nota 38 rubr. 6 Histor. Albertini Muss. Muratori. Antic. Estens, tom. 1. cap. 31. Rer. Ital. disser. 3.*”

afforded a palliative to this evil. Many Florentines, of a ferocious and warlike disposition, laying aside all domestic disputes, hurried to this enterprise*; among the rest the name of Buona Guisa, of Galigari, is celebrated, who, in the assault of Daniata, was the first to scale the walls, and plant the standard upon them, or

1219. the white and red ensign of their country, which, as a memorial of so illustrious an action, was hung up in the temple of St. John†. The descendants of this man, in order to do themselves honour by his name, abandoning the old family name of Galigari, assumed that of Buonaguisi.

1220. The peace which had lasted so long between the republics of Pisa and Florence was this year broken. The Pisan ambassadors came to words with the Florentines in Rome, where they met to assist at the coronation of Frederic II. The motive (if indeed it is true) was ridiculous enough, and unworthy of the effects it produced‡. But probably there was some other cause, which is not mentioned by historians. It would have been easy to have adjusted a misunderstanding, which had arisen from a very trifling motive, without coming to a dangerous rupture.

The Pisans probably began to look upon the increasing power of the Florentines, whose commerce was continually increasing, with an eye of jealousy. Their
1221. merchandise was obliged to pass through Pisa, and

* Ricord. Malasp. cap. 106.

† Malaspina relates, that at his time they showed it on the day of St. John. Giov. Villani confirms it, and adds that it was there in his time.

‡ A dog, promised by a forgetful cardinal, first to one of the Pisan ambassadors, and afterwards to one of the Florentines, caused them to come to blows.—Malasp. cap. 131.

leave the continent by means of the Pisan port; an opportunity was now afforded them of interrupting the course of it,—and indeed they immediately confiscated whatever merchandise of the Florentines could be found in Pisa. The obstinacy of the Pisans, not only in retaining this merchandise, but even in refusing to restore in lieu of it some bales of tow, with which the Florentines would have been contented, (thus preserving their honour by this apparent restitution*,) clearly shews how adverse the Pisans were to a reconciliation, and confirms our conjecture. It was necessary to have recourse to arms. The Pisans, masters of the art of war by sea, were not equally powerful by land; the two small armies coming to blows near Castel del Bosco†, the Pisans were defeated with 1,300 prisoners, besides the killed. We will not detain our reader with the war the Florentines maintained with the Siennese in defence of Montepulciano, which was taken and half demolished by the Siennese. The Florentines took revenge by laying waste the Siennese territory, by the fruitless siege of Sienna, and by mean insults towards the city‡. This little war of inroads lasted about six years, when peace was ^{1231,} made through the medium of Cardinal Prenestino, ^{32, 33,} ^{34, 35.} deputed by the pope for that purpose§.

The civil discords, which the holy war had somewhat appeased by removing from Florence the diseased humour that kept her in agitation, were now renewed. The disputes between the priesthood and the empire had never been abandoned: worldly interest, and not a zeal

* Malasp. cap. 113.

† Malasp. cap. 114, 115.

‡ There was the custom of insulting a city by throwing into it asses and human ordure, &c.

§ Annal. Senen. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. 15.

for religion, had always given fresh rise to them; hence the emperors and the popes, who disputed for the temporal possession of Italy, were supported by the two powerful factions; the Guelphs adhering to the pope, and the Ghibellines to the emperor. The one or the other faction was predominant according to the vigour and the talent of their respective chiefs: we have seen the activity and power of the Emperor Frederic I., protector of the Ghibelline faction, and enemy of the pope. His son, Henry VI., with more vices than his father, without inheriting any of his virtues, soon died, loaded with the public execration, leaving a young son who, however he inherited the rights to the throne of Sicily, of Germany, and made pretensions to the Empire, was of too tender an age to give umbrage to the court of Rome. In the mean time Otho IV. of the Guelphan family, and consequently of the pontifical party succeeded to the imperial crown; but coming into Italy to exercise his rights, the court of Rome regarded him no longer as a friend. Pope Innocent III. finally excommunicated him, and forgetful of the enmity of the house of Suabia (towards Rome, endeavoured to oppose to him the young Frederic, not foreseeing how far more terrible an enemy he would find in a prince equal or superior to his grandfather Barbarossa, in talent and in valour. After the premature death of Otho, the pontiff gave the imperial crown to the young Frederic, making him however first promise to carry war into the holy land. He thus obtained two ends; he promoted an enterprise always dear to the court of Rome, and removed from Italy a man who might give annoyance to the pontifical sovereignty. The new emperor, anxious first to adjust the affairs of Italy, did not care much about fulfilling his promises; for this failure, and other errors, Frederic was struck by the

accustomed arm of the popes, by the excommunication thundered against him by Gregory IX., and the excuse of being sick availed him nothing. The convenient opportunity occurring, he made sail from Otranto with various ships and arrived at Acři, took no notice of the censures, and thought he received a tacit absolution from them, by fulfilling his promise. But he found all the clergy and his adherents his declared enemies, who, instead of conjointly promoting the enterprise of the Holy Land, full of fanatic zeal, crossed his designs by issuing a proclamation that no communication was to be had with an excommunicated prince: at the same time his Apulian dominions were invaded by the pontifical army, which, from wearing the keys of St. Peter as coat of arms upon their uniform, were called *sign of the keys* (*chiavivignato*).

The active Frederic triumphed over all obstacles; forced Soldan to a capitulation, by which the cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Sidon were ceded to him; but, in spite of these holy acquisitions, being looked upon with horror by the ecclesiastics, and not finding any one to crown him King of Jerusalem, he placed the crown upon the altar, and, as if in derision of the ceremony, put it upon his own head, and returning rapidly into Apulia, soon re-conquered his lost dominions. After so many mutual insults, it is easy to imagine, no reconciliation was to be hoped for between him and the pontiff*.

The cities of Tuscany were divided, but Pisa had always adhered to the imperial party. To the ancient favours received from the house of Suabia was added a

* Many are the writers of these events. For all of them, see the Annals of Murat. ann. 1228, 29.

measure of the court of Rome, adapted to irritate the Pisans. That court constantly anxious for her own advancement, had sent friars into various parts of Italy, particularly of the minors and Dominican orders, for the laudable purpose of preaching peace and concord, but at the same time exacted from the people the oath of fidelity to the pope, and carried letters to the bishops, wherein they were commanded to exact the same. These religious persons were expelled by Rinaldo duke of Spoleti, and their dangerous missions prohibited by

Frederic *. Sardinia was governed by the Pisans; 1240. hither one of these sacred envoys, called Alexander, chaplain of the pope repaired, in the quality of apostolic legate, and succeeded in seducing the Pisan feudatories. Ubaldo Visconti held in feu from the Pisan Republic the jurisdiction of Gallara; Adelasia, that of Torri, and Peter of Capraja, that of Arborea. The apostolic legate obtained that the respective jurisdictions should be given over to his hands † against the oath already given to the republic, and that they should receive them again in feu from the pope. This act exasperated the government of Pisa, and there being citizens in it accustomed to an implicit obedience towards Rome, even in affairs where religion was not concerned, disorders and divisions arose, although those who held the government in their hands remained sound to the old imperial party ‡. Frederic repaired to Tuscany to excite

* Cronic. di Ricc. da S. Germano Rer. Ital. tom. 7. Petr. de' Vine. Epis. lib. 1. cap. 19.

† The judges were called also *reges a regendo*. Enzo, son of Frederic II., married the mentioned Adelasia, become a widow, and united various jurisdictions, either by the imperial authority of the father, or by the concession of the Pisans, and became therefore king or governor of Sardinia.

‡ Cav. Flamm. dal Borgo dell' Istor. Pis. Disser. 4.

those cities against Rome, and to make sure of his partizans. He stopped some time in Pisa to concert measures for undertaking a more vigorous war against the pontiff, who in the mean time multiplied his censures against him. In order to give them greater solemnity, he ordered a council in Rome at St. John the Lateran, (St. Giovanni Laterano), by calling thither the clergy from the Christian provinces. Frederic, not alarmed at these threats, against which he was now grown obdurate, being at the siege of Faenza, not only arrested all the ecclesiastics who were repairing to that council, but hearing a large body of French prelates was assembled in Genoa, together with the cardinals Jacopo Bishop of Palestrina, and Otho of St. Nicholas in Prison, (San Niccolo in Carcere) in order to go to Rome by sea, persuaded the Pisans to unite their forces with those brought from Sicily by Enzo his son, and attack the Genoese fleet in the passage. Although great enemies of the Genoese, through respect to the clergy the Pisans warned the prelates and Genoese not to hazard the passage. The imprudent Genoese, despising the menace, although inferior in number and with ships crowded with weak crews, instead of bearing out to sea, and avoiding battle, went boldly to meet the enemies' fleet, and not far from Meloria, between the Lilly island and Mount Christus, on the third of 1247. May, a sanguinary conflict ensued, in which the Genoese were worsted, twenty-two galleys taken by the Pisans, and three sunk: four thousand prisoners, among whom two cardinals and a crowd of ecclesiastics were led to Pisa in triumph, and the only distinction shewn to the latter was being bound with silver chains*.

* Bartol. Script. Rer. Ital. tom. 6., and particularly an authentic paper quoted by the Cav. Flamm. dal Borgo, Diss. 4. dell' Istor. Pisana. Villani. lib. 6. cap: 20.

Frederic did not fail to boast of this victory as a judgment of God, which favoured his cause; and his secretary and friend, Piero delle Vigne, made use of all his eloquence to prove to him that the hand of the Lord was manifest in the event*. In the mean time Frederic, flushed by victory, forced his passage through the pontifical states, occupied various cities, and advanced even as far as the walls of Rome. Pope Gregory, worn down by age, and probably by chagrin, died.

The Pisans carried on the war with Genoa with the greatest vigour, raised the siege of Savona, and, in the month of September, left the Pisan port with one hundred and five galleys and one hundred smaller vessels†, bearing down against Genoa: which magnificent armament probably terminated in the vain and useless satisfaction of throwing arrows tipped with silver against the town‡. The imperial and Pisan fleets frequently approached the shores of Genoa, but, instead of doing any thing important, they appeared rather to fly from the Genoese armaments§. Gregory IX. had been succeeded by Celestine IV., who lived but a short time, and therefore had little to do with the Emperor. Innocent IV., of the family of Fieschi, was elected in his place, whose friendship with the Emperor gave hopes of an easy adjustment; but interest makes enemies of the closest friends. After many useless negotiations, Innocent, dreading the arms and treachery of Frederic, had fled into Italy, whence,

* Petrus de Vine, Epist. cap. 8 and 9.

† This great armament is not at all exaggerated by historians, being attested by the public inscription that was hung up in the palace Lung' Arno, called delle Vele, and which has been lately transported to the Campo Santo of Pisa.

‡ Bartol. Ser. Convin. Caffar. Rer. Ital. tom. 6.

§ Bartol. Ser. Loc. c. Tronci Annali.

proceeding to France, they held a council at Lyons, in which he excommunicated and deposed the Emperor. He, in the mean time, ruled over Italy. Amongst the cities of Tuscany, although Florence had been divided into the two factions, nevertheless the Guelfan preponderated. The Emperor, by fanning the dying embers, rekindled the Ghibelline fire, particularly by ^{1248.} rousing the Uberti and promising aid to their party: they again took up arms, and sanguinary conflicts took place in many parts of the city*, when, finally, the son of the Emperor, arriving with 1,600 German horse, the Guelphs were obliged to give way; they retreated indeed from Florence, but with a ferocious air, and with their arms in their hands; and just before their departure, Rustico Marignolli, chevalier of the first order among the Guelphs, dying of the wounds he had received in the last actions, was buried on the very day of their retreat, in St. Laurence, with the honours of war, as in air of triumph, the only doleful token being the ensigns reversed and dragging upon the ground. The following night the Guelphs, finding all resistance useless, left the city†.

The fury of civil discord knows no limits; the Ghibellines, who remained masters, unable to wreak their vengeance in any other way against the Guelphs, razed their dwellings to the ground, and particularly the towers with which Florence was at that time adorned, like other cities of Italy. That of Tosinghi, formed of columns of marble, which decorated the old market, (*mercato vecchio*) stood ninety arms above the ground; another as high as one hundred and thirty, which, together with many others, were thrown down. Their brutal rage

* Malasp. cap. 137. Amm. lib. 2. † Amm. lib. 2.

is discovered in the barbarous attempt made to ruin St. John's temple, which was guilty of no other crime than being the place where the Guelphs were accustomed to hold their assemblies. A beautiful and lofty tower stood at the beginning of the street of the Adimari: they endeavoured to make it fall upon that temple and thus crush it, and having propped it up with large beams towards the part opposite the temple, and cutting it in great part on the same side, they set fire to the props; but accident saved this fine edifice by the tower falling elsewhere*. The Guelphs had retired in great numbers to Capraia, where they were closely besieged by the Ghibellines, who had been reinforced by the Germans, and animated by the Emperor Frederic, who kept his position at Fucecchio: the Guelphs, deficient in provisions, were obliged to surrender at discretion, and submit to the cruelties of the barbarous conquerors; some were blinded, others killed, and a part led captive by Frederic into the kingdom of Naples†. These misfortunes

1250. instead of humbling only irritated the Guelphs; they defended themselves bravely in the valley of the Arno (Val d'Arno), discomfited the Ghibellines, who returned to Florence in disgrace.

The people had already begun to perceive they were sacrificed to the discords of the great, who sought only to serve their own private revenge under the fallacious pretext of the public good: taking courage at this defeat, and crying out loudly, particularly against the Uberti, the heads of the ruling faction, they openly demanded a new form of government. The nobles, unable to oppose them, were obliged to yield; the new government was constituted in a manner that the people, who probably

* Malasp. cap. 137.

† Malasp. cap. 140.

had hitherto been excluded, or had but a small share in it, were now more freely admitted. The supremacy was taken away from the mayor, twelve seniors of the people were created, and the city was divided into six parts, two for each sixth were elected, and a captain of the people in lieu of the mayor, whose office was abolished, and again renewed in the following year, but with a greater limitation of authority. In order to secure this new form of government against the overbearing conduct of the signiors who frequently thought it greatness to insult the laws, a public force was established: twenty flags or ensigns were given to twenty chiefs in the city, three for a sixth part, and four to the sixth on the other side of the Arno* and to that of St. Peter Scheraggio, probably the most populous quarter of the city. At the sound of a bell when necessity demanded it, the persons capable of arms were to assemble under their banner: the same order was given in the country: the banners were confided to ninety-six precincts, the young men of which were to be ready in arms to support the government, and protect it both from internal and external enemies.

The pope's sentence against Frederic did not fail to produce very bad consequences: Germany, Lombardy, Puglia, and other places, broke out into rebellion against him, and he was abandoned by many of his friends. Even the Pisans, who were involved in the same excommunication, were desirous of joining the holy see; the pope received them with open arms, but demanded of them to abandon the party of an emperor

* As the most extensive part of the city has been always upon the right bank of the Arno, it was a common custom to call *Oltr'arno* that situated on the left: whoever wishes to know all the whimsical figures painted on the flags, may consult *Malasp. cap. 41.*

who was separated from the bosom of the church: they hesitated for a moment, but remained firm to the imperial party*. Even that singular man, for so long a time the friend, favourite and principal minister of the emperor, Peter of the Vineyards, (Piero delle Vigne,) finally incurred his indignation; his crime is uncertain, but a favourite, who has so many enemies may very easily be ruined when the affairs of his master do not prosper. The public, always discontented with every government, is ready to condemn the minister, and absolve the prince. To this cause may be added, what Dante adduces, the envy and persecution of the courtiers†. The unfortunate minister, who had faithfully served for so many years, was blinded in San Miniato, and sent to Pisa to be exposed to the derision of the populace. Falling from a mule he died of a heavy blow in the head‡. At last, after a life of continual agitation, Frederic died at Fiorentino, a castle of Apulia. He was buried in Palermo, and amongst all the sepulchral inscriptions presented to his son Manfredi, it is said that the one that most pleased him was the work of an

* Flamm. dal Borgo Diss. 4 dell' Ist. Pisan.

† La meretrice, che mai dall' ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti
Morte comune, e delle Corti vizio,
Infiammò contro me gli animi tutti;
E gl' infiammati infiammar si Augusto,
Che i lieti onor tornaro in tristi lutte.
L'animo mio per disdegnoso gusto,
Credendo col morir fuggir disdegno,
Ingusto fece me contro me giusto.

Whence it is thought that Piero killed himself.

‡ The most authentic document of the death of Piero is that of the Hospital of Santa Chiara in Pisa, mentioned by Cav. Flammengo in the fourth dissertation upon the Pisan history, where it is said that he was buried in San Andrea.

Aretine clergyman *; but another less elegant appears to have been placed upon it.

No sensible writer has denied this sovereign great talents; the opinion formed of him, however, would have been more general if he had not had the misfortune to incur the excommunication; the ecclesiastics, therefore, have described him as impious and irreligious. Others, on the contrary, have thought him full of that vigour of intellect which knows so well how to distinguish true religion from the contentious ecclesiastical prerogatives; hence he had the courage to resist the temporal arms of Rome as well as the spiritual. The prudent reader, however, will form his opinion of his character according to his own manner of thinking. Following the system of his grandfather Frederic the First, he became an enemy of the Italian republics, considering them as disposed to rebellion against the empire. Like him he favoured sciences and letters. The former, however, was more liberal of his honours and premiums to the professors of law, particularly to the Bolognese, giving them an interest in undertaking the defence of the imperial rights: the latter loved learned men from love of letters, nor did he disdain to enter into the list of authors; he touched the poetic lyre, and we look with veneration upon the poetical fragments of a great sovereign, who is reckoned amongst the founders of Italian poetry. He transmitted a love of learning to his natural children. Enzus, King

* This was the inscription:

Si probitas sensus, virtutum copia, census

Nobilitas osti possent resistere morti;

Non foret extinctus Fridericus qui jacet intus.

The anonymous writer of the Sicilian Chronicle mentions another:—*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. 25.

of the Sardinians, distinguished himself as a poet, and Manfredi was a great protector of letters.

The Florentine people, encouraged by the death of the protector of the Ghibellines, after having settled the government in the prescribed form, in order to keep the great that were Ghibellines more in rein, having heard of the death of the Emperor Frederic, recalled the Guelphs, and the two parties were pacified. It was difficult, however, to preserve them of accord. The Guelphs, who were become superior, pretended that the exiled Guelphs should be restored to Pistoia; the Florentine republic was ready to regard as pious and just a measure which she had herself undertaken, and took an interest in supporting it. The Pistoiese resisting, the

^{1252.} Florentines wished to force them by arms; the Ghibellines refused to have any share in the enterprise, and to march against their friends: this was the reason that the Guelphs, after having returned from that expedition in which, although they did not succeed in restoring their friends to Pistoia, they had however discomfited the Pistoiese, drove the Ghibellines from Florence; and what shows the animosity and desire of perpetuating rather than extinguishing the party, they changed the arms of the community: the white lily in red ground was changed into red lily in white ground, the Ghibellines retaining the ancient insignia of the community, changes which however they may appear small contributed with the distinction of the insignia to support and encourage the divisions*. Thus the factions that they wished to extinguish had arisen anew, and the government of the republic was always wavering between

* Ric. Malas. cap. 1. 45.

the one and the other party. If the expulsion of one faction produced internal quiet, it almost always produced war without. The exiled Ghibellines united at Montagna with some Germans, who had been once followers of the Emperor Frederic; and receiving succours from the Siennese and Pisans, the Florentines went out to meet them and disperse them, which became only the prelude to a greater battle. The Florentines had turned against the Pistoiese when the news was brought to them that the Pisans had discomfited the Lucchese their allies at Montopoli. They hastened, therefore, to their succour. Coming up with them near Pontedera a fierce battle ensued, in which the Pisans were defeated with great loss, the number of their prisoners amounting to 3,000, amongst whom was the mayor of Pisa*. The arms of the Florentines were every where successful: Figline, where many Ghibellines had taken refuge was taken; and Montalcino was liberated from the siege of the Siennese.

The city was now rapidly increasing in population and riches: an increase which had taken place particularly in the space of thirty-four years, as various observations clearly prove. The old bridge (Ponte Vecchio) was the only one that existed in the year 1218; the same year that of Carraja was built; eighteen years afterwards Rubacon of Mandella, a Milanese, mayor of Florence, gave the name to the bridge which is now called of the Graces, (*delle Grazie*); and in the present year that of the Holy Trinity, (*Santa Trinità*), was also erected. Golden coin was struck for the first time: the fine florin of Florence, which acquired celebrity in all commercial countries, was now admired upon the shores of Africa

* Malasp. cap. 150. Amm. lib. 2.

by the King of Tunis, perhaps to the envy of the Pisans; and their derogatory answers to the Florentine republic prove the continued animosity between the two states, if, indeed, this is not one of the many deceitful anecdotes with which history abounds.

The golden florin, its component parts, and generally the money of a republic of so much commerce merit a more detailed illustration. Until this time silver and copper money only had been made use of, and were probably coined in the eleventh century. As Tuscany had no particular money of her own under the dukes and marquises, nor any documents of such having existed, we may with very great probability conclude she had none, and began only to coin it when the republic was established. If it appears strange that a city of so much commerce began so late to coin golden money, let us reflect upon the greater value of silver in those days; and we shall see that this alone was sufficient, with the addition of the foreign golden coins which then circulated in Italy, such as the Agostori, &c. Venice, which earlier than all the other cities of Italy, carried on an extensive commerce, coined money of gold later than Florence, that is, in the year 1285. That Pisa struck golden coin before this time, may be inferred from three golden pieces with the name of the Emperor Frederic II., and the name and Pisan insignia which are to be seen in the copious collection of Monsignor Franceschi, Archbishop of Pisa *, if a doubt indeed does not arise of their being struck by Frederic upon his entrance into that city, in order to endear the people to him. The question acquires greater validity when we reflect that neither Venice or Genoa struck golden coin, and

* Now possessed by his heirs.

that John Villani, who lived about those times, asserts the same of Pisa. It would have been strange that this man, who was one of the deputies to the mint of Florence, who has taken care to cause the ancient Florentine coins to be registered under the names of the mint directors, and who is versed in such matters, should be ignorant of the fact, and that if he was acquainted with it, he should expose himself to the ridicule, into which any author falls who writes things notoriously false. But leaving this question, it is certain that Pisa, Genoa, and Lucca, coined money by authority and imperial permission, as the arms of the emperor stamped thereon, demonstrate; whilst Florence coined by her own authority, and stamped it only with St. John the Baptist and the Lily. It is true that the cities have in our times pretended that it was rather an honour granted by the emperors to affix their arms, like those families who have had the license to imprint the lily or the eagle upon them from the emperors and the kings of France; but as the emperors always pretended it belonged to them to grant the right, the title of those cities remains doubtful. Perhaps, too, they solicited that privilege in order to give more authority to their coin in foreign parts, and to facilitate its course under shadow of the imperial authority. In whatever sense we may please to understand it, greater real power was evinced by that city which struck coin for herself without need of license, or other privilege than the goodness of its alloy, (which is soon known to the discernment of merchants,) and which immediately gave the golden florin of Florence so much credit in foreign countries and made them prefer it to all others*. This

* Oftentimes foreign lords and governments asked permission of the Florentines to strike the golden florin for its celebrity.—Borghini, loc. cit.

florin was struck from the finest gold of the weight of a drachm, three denari or seventy-two grains: this is the weight of the lilled sequin, which still retains its stamp and value. At that time the proportion of gold to silver was as one to $10 + \frac{9}{16}$ *; hence the florin of gold was divided into twenty florins of silver, called also popolins, soldi, &c., the sum of which formed the weight of 10 drachms and $\frac{9}{16}$ or about 770 grains. The stamp was the same and the size nearly so, hence the joke of the gilded popolins related by the facetious Boccaccio may be probable. This twentieth part of the florin of gold was subdivided into twelve denari, each of which, if the proportion of gold to silver had continued the same, would correspond to one of our common soldi of Lira, with a third of a farthing more, or *quattrina*.

The names of the golden florin were various, only two of which deserve explanation, viz., the florin of the galley, and that of the seal. The former received that name from having been stamped in the year 1422, in which galleys were armed by the Florentine republic, and commerce entered into with Egypt. Having obtained from the soldan the same privileges as the Venetians enjoyed, they coined this florin to confront the Venetian, which was in great credit there. The other was called of the seal, because a given number of golden florins, weighed carefully by the public office, were put into a skin bag, and marked with the public seal; these parcels were paid away without being counted, and were of great convenience in large contracts. Besides this material and serviceable division, the golden florin was also divided into an imaginary coin, invented for convenience of commerce; that is the *lira*, formed also of aliquot parts, soldi and denari, which must frequently have given rise

* It maintained itself such until the sixteenth century, or at the discovery of America.—Carli sulle Zecche.

to much confusion with the soldi and denari of the golden florin. Even before, the imaginary lira had existed in Florence, and in the twelfth century was equal to the value which the golden florin passed for afterwards* ; but when it became a fraction, it was subjected to continual and important changes, both from the various operations of commerce, and particularly the deterioration of the silver coin, into which the golden florin was changed: and, in truth, the agio of the latter continued greatly increasing. As long as the augmentation was moderate, it might be imagined that the convenience and the greater price in which gold was held was the cause of it; but going beyond the thirty per cent., it is easy to see that the motive arose from the alteration of the fine silver with which the florins, popolins, guelfi, or soldi of silver were struck; since if the mixture of which twenty of these were composed, instead of containing seven hundred and seventy grains of silver as was necessary to be equivalent to seventy-two grains of gold, contained only seven hundred, and even less, and the remainder copper or other metal, the discernment of the bankers reduced them to their just value; and in the exchange as much more money of silver was necessary to make up the deficiency. From this cause arise the strange changes and the leaps, as it were, made by the lire as fraction of the golden florin; sometimes a lire and a half was equivalent to the florin, sometimes 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, &c. Without such information innumerable mistakes are made by readers, and writers themselves, in computing the lire of the florin†, being particularly deluded by the word lira,

* Rico. Malasp. Stor. Fior. c. 98.

† Even the celebrated English writer, of the Life of Lorenzo the Magnificent, finding in the Ammirato that the golden florin was valued at three lire ten soldi, has thought to be able generally to

which from an imaginary coin became finally a real one under Cosmo I., and is become a constant fraction of the golden florin or sequin, composed of $13\frac{1}{3}$ of these.

This was a glorious epoch for the Florentines; they had become powerful by commerce, accompanied with that frugality which is the basis of it; a picture painted in lively colours by Dante*, as a contrast to the luxury and profusion of his own times. They followed up their enterprises with success. Pistoia, frequently attacked, was finally obliged to receive the law from the Florentines, and release the Guelphs; they attacked Volterra, where the Ghibelline party reigned, and which, being situated in a very strong position, it did not appear possible to take according to the manner of fighting in those times. It was probably only the intention of the Florentines to lay waste the country, according to the practice of war as then carried on. Whilst this was going on under the eyes of the Volterrans, the latter ill brooking that the enemy should act with impunity, suddenly opened a gate, and rushed out upon them; but being furiously repulsed and followed up, the Florentines entered with unexpected good fortune, mixed with the

establish that this was the value of the florin, when it was only so of that year. In a word, we have always a fixed term that is the florin of gold or sequin, which from the year 1252 to now has suffered at most only the alteration of four grains; it is more proper from the golden florin to infer the value of the lire than from this the florin, whence the more the number of the lire increases, so much the more their value diminishes; for example, when it was composed of four lire, each of these corresponded to five of our pauls, the same proportion being placed between the gold and silver, which however is varied. For all the variations of these coins, and their number and names, we may consult Conte Carli, and the author of the Decimal.

* *Fiorenza dento delle Cerchia Antiche, &c.*

fugitives, into Volterra, and thus gained the strongest place in Tuscany. It may be mentioned to the honour of the conquerors, that Volterra, although taken by assault, was saved from being sacked. All their enterprises had so well succeeded this year, that they justly gave it the name of the victorious year*. They had defeated
 1254. the Siennese, obliged them to raise the siege of Montaleina, and receive laws from them; the Pistoiese being brought to allegiance, the Guelphs were again received into the city, and a castle was built upon the Florentine gate to command it; Poggibonzi was occupied; and crowning their prosperity by the recent capture of Volterra, they excited the astonishment and terror of the other cities of Tuscany.

After the expedition of Volterra, the Florentine army repaired to the Pisan territory, and passing the Era began to lay waste the country. The fame of the Florentine victories had disheartened the Pisans, and internal dissensions had weakened them. According to the custom of the times, the Pisan people were become clamorous against the nobility, formed a popular government, and if the nobles wished to participate in it, they were obliged to enter among the people. Many abandoned the city†, which divided had now no courage to oppose the enemy, and sued for peace, leaving the conditions at his discretion and judgment. The Florentines agreed to this, and the army returned in triumph to Florence to consult thereon. They were in alliance with the Lucchese and Genoese against the Pisans; a congress, therefore, was held in Florence of the ambassadors of those two republics‡ with the Florentine government, and the conditions were dictated

* R. Malasp, c. 55.

† Tronci Ann. Pisani, an. 1254.

‡ Ann. Genuen. lib. VI. Rer. Ital. tom. 6.

to the Pisans. The principal and most important for the Florentines was exemption from all taxes and duties upon their merchandise, which were obliged to pass through the Pisan territory; that the castles of Lerice and Trebbiano should be restored to the Genoese; Mutrone to the Lucchese; Montopoli to the bishopric of Lucca: that they should evacuate the castles of Carvaja and Massa which they had lately occupied; give up to the

1255. Florentines, either the castle of Ripafratta, or

Piombino; with some other provision of minor importance*. Much praise cannot be given to the conquerors for moderation; the Pisans temporized in fulfilling the conditions, and if they were finally obliged to yield to circumstances, it was easy to foresee they wished only to violate a shameful peace at the first opportunity. This moment was not distant: the Ghibelline party, which had lost itself in Italy by the death of Frederic, and the little activity of Conrad, began to rise anew through the activity of Manfredi, natural son of Frederic. This prince, to whom nature had been bountiful of many gifts, the worthy son of Frederic II., possessed the talents of his father; graceful, amiable, full of activity and genius, he had been created by his father, Prince of Tarentum, and soon became the most important person in the kingdom of the Sicilies, first as tutor of the young Conradin, afterwards as sovereign. The court of Rome being his enemy, which wished to dispose as she pleased of that kingdom, he endeavoured to gain over to him the party of the Ghibellines, who easily followed him as son of their first protector. Seeing Florence governed by the contrary party, he excited the Pisan republic to break

* These conditions are mentioned as more or less heavy by the Bartolom. Historians, Scriba Ann. Genuen. lib. 6., by Tronci Ann. Pisa, by Malasp. cap. 155., who adds some other.

the conditions with which she had been lately obliged to purchase a shameful peace*. It was easy to instigate the Pisans, who did not however directly take up arms against the Florentines, but against their allies, the
 1256. Lucchese.

This infraction of treaty soon determined the Florentines to put themselves in motion. Their troops joining the Lucchese, attacked the Pisans near the bridge at the Serchio, and defeated them with great loss †. The victorious Florentines advanced to S. Jacopo, very near Pisa, where they coined money in token of jurisdiction and contempt of the Pisans‡. The conquered, obliged to sue for an immediate peace, obtained it, but the conditions were very heavy: the treaty stipulated in 1254 was now increased by the cession of various castles to the Lucchese and Florentines. Among the former which were ceded was Mutrone: the loss of which greatly hurt the Pisans, since, being situated upon the sea, it might become a convenient port to a commercial and industrious nation, which not only would no longer have occasion for the Pisan port but acquired the means of becoming a maritime power. No longer able to do so by force, they endeavoured to induce the Florentines with gold to ruin Mutrone; a laudable action of Aldobrandino Otto-

* Ammir. Ist. Fior. lib. 2.

† L'Ammir. lib. 2. copying Malaspina, tells us that besides the killed and drowned in the Serchio, there were 3,000 prisoners, probably these losses are almost always exaggerated,

‡ They had caused a very high pine to be cut, and in order to express it in the coin was seen a trefoil at the feet of St. John. Villani attests to have lost many of these florins, whence it appears that the doubt cannot arise which the Cav. Flamingo dal Borgo wishes to start, the more because the Pisan Tronci himself; annalist in times so much lower, affirms that he has had in his hands more than one of these golden florins.

buoni must not be passed over in oblivion. In the discussions about Mutrone this virtuous citizen had given it as his opinion, that it should be done away with as useless to the Florentine republic; his companions were almost persuaded, and the day following the measures were to be carried into effect: the Pisan minister, who had got a hint of it, employed a friend to offer secretly Aldobrandino 4,000 florins of gold, if he succeeded in making his opinion good. Aldobrandino perceived from the offer that his opinion was wrong; he treated the mediator with good words, but when he came to the senate, asking excuse for his change of sentiment, he argued with such powerful eloquence for the contrary opinion that he succeeded (although not without difficulty), in effecting a change in the measure the magistracy was about to take. Aldobrandino was ill supplied with the gifts of fortune; hence his disinterestedness being made known, which, notwithstanding his silence came to the ears of the public, he was received with the greatest acclamations*. He performed only the duty of a good citizen, and the praises which are wont to be bestowed on such occasions are an indirect satire upon the human race; since the rarity of such actions make them rather exceptions than common rules of life. This honourable citizen died the following year: his country paid him funeral honours attended with magnificent pomp in Santa Reparata, and erected a mausoleum to perpetuate his memory,

The humiliation of the Ghibelline party in Tuscany had particularly caused the losses of the Pisans. Manfredi, whose assistance they had reckoned upon, was absent, and involved in the wars excited against him by

* Giov. Vil. Ist. lib. 6. c. 64.

the pope and his subjects: the support they had always received from the emperors failed them at this time, in which the empire, agitated by various factions, was vacant. The cities of Italy had enjoyed the right of participating in the election* of the king of the Romans and of Italy: it is true that a short time before, in the council of Lyons, Innocent IV., upon the deposition of Frederic II., had given the power of electing for that post to seven princes of Germany or electors: but the Italian cities probably did not think they had lost that right. Pisa among these, considering her critical circumstances, and how much she would gain in power by the election of an emperor, who was friendly to her, and almost her creature, made an act that may appear ostentatious in our days, but which was at that time dictated by politics and by the consideration the republic enjoyed. She sent to give her voice for the election or really to elect emperor the King Alphonso of Castile, who received the honourable embassy very graciously: Bandino of Guidone Lancia, of the family Casaldi of Pisa, was the ambassador, and with solemn rites elected him King of the Romans and Emperor for his republic, who conceded the most ample and extensive privileges to the city of Pisa†. This great and respectable act shews the consideration which Pisa enjoyed; and if, as it appears‡ in the schism

* Murat. Diss. 3. de Imp. Rom. et Regum Ital. &c.

† The diploma, referred to by Ughelli, by Tronci, by the Cav. Flam. del Borgo, is still in existence, in which are the words, "Ego Bandinus Lancea, &c. . . . in Romanorum regem et imperatorem Rom. imperii, nunc vacantis eligo et assumo, promoveo atque voco, &c.," as well as the acceptance of Alphonso and the diploma of privileges to the Pisans.

‡ The diplomas of election, and concession of privileges, are marked in the year 1256, and the election made by the princes named in 1257 or 58.

in which the electors found themselves, the nomination which the archbishop of Treves, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony and the Marquis of Brandenburg, made of the same Alphonso was posterior to the Pisan election, the latter acquires greater lustre and a dignity from having been supported by such powerful princes. The other electors, with many princes of Germany, had already elected King of the Romans, Richard Count of Cornwall, brother of the King of England. In the time of suspension between the two candidates, the Florentines thought perhaps Alphonso more favourable to their party, whence they sent to him their illustrious citizen Brunetto Latini. But the misfortunes that happened to the Florentine Ghibellines rendered the embassy useless*. Pope Alexander IV. remained for some time neutral, afterwards began to call Richard the elect; and, finally, at the death of the latter, refused to acknowledge Alphonso. The anxiety of the Pisans in electing him, and of the Italian Ghibellines in acknowledging him, rendered him suspicious to the court of Rome, which, after long agitations, excluded him from the empire.

^{1258.} The inactivity of the imperial power in Italy, and the inability of the Pisans to favour it, or to be assisted by it, rendered their reconciliation more easy with the church, from the bosom of which they were separated for sixteen years, that is, from the time in which the Genoese being overcome, they led the prelates prisoners into Pisa, who were going to the Lateran council. They had refused a reconciliation with Innocent IV, on account of their considering the condition not generous, to abandon their ally and friend Frederic the Second. Such an obstacle existed no longer, and

* Ric. Malasp. c. 162.

having demanded of Alexander IV. absolution from the censures, it was granted to them, and the obligation imposed upon them was, to follow the party of the emperor, which would be acknowledged by him, and the useful and salutary penance of building a hospital, which was that of Santa Chiara. The foundation was laid by Mansueto Tanganelli of Castiglion-Aretino, penitentiary of the pope, and many prelates and S. Bonaventura himself assisted at the public function *. The wise pontiff wished to pacify them too with the Genoese, who contending with them for Sardinia, and invading the principality of Cagliari, held S. Gilia in siege. The pope ordered two gentlemen residing in Sardinia to repair thither as his legates, intimate to them a suspension of hostilities, that they should give up the place in contest into their hands, and that he would afterwards pronounce his sentence; but before these arrived, the Pisans having conquered the place, had recovered the principality of Cagliari which they gave in feu to three Pisan families, to the Visconti, to the sons of the Count of Capraja and to the Gherardeschi. This took place in the following year, at the time in which in the East near Acri in unison with the Venetians, the Pisans discomfited the Genoese with an immense slaughter, the loss of twenty-five galleys, and their expulsion from the port of Acri. The Pisans and the remainder of the Tuscan Ghibellines could not avail themselves of the imperial aid; they received it finally from Manfredi, who, always active, continued to foment the Ghibelline party in Florence. The latter was tyrannized over by the ruling Guelphs; excluded from public employments and guarded with a vigilant jealousy: they buried their real sentiments in

* Cronic. Pis. Flam. dal Borgo Diss. 5. Tronci, &c.

silence ; but encouraged by Manfredi, were secretly plotting innovations. The conspiracy was headed by those of the Uberti, who being thought less dangerous, had remained in Florence after the expulsion of the Ghibellines. The conspiracy was discovered. Being called to judgment they refused to appear, and taking up
 1259. arms, were bold enough to insult the ministers of justice. The people however turning all against them, arrested some of them, who lost their heads under the axe. Many other families, accomplices in the conspiracy, fled from Florence: in this misfortune was involved the Abbot of Vallombrosa, of the family Beccheria of Pavia, suspected of being an accomplice ; torments made him confess what was not true, and he lost his head *. The exiles retired to Sienna which was at that time become the refuge of that party. Among the Florentine outlaws was Manente, or Farinata of the Uberti, head of the family, of a ferocious disposition, eloquent, and equally skilled in arms and in council†. He was the soul of the Ghibelline faction, inflamed the Siennese to arms against the Florentines, irritated the mind of King Manfredi against them by all his artifice‡, who sent to their suc-

* Malasp. cap. 159.

† Filipp. Villani degli Uomini illus. fior.

‡ That king had sent no more than two hundred German horse ; this small succour discouraged the Ghibellines : Farinata however made the best advantage of it ; having made them drunk, he sent them together with other troops against the Florentines who were near Sienna. They pushed on with so much fury that in the beginning the Florentines took to flight, but afterwards seeing the small number of combatants they turned back with shame, and rushing into the midst of them cut all the Germans to pieces, and then in sign of contempt dragged the ensign of Manfredi upon the ground. This event being made known by Farinata to the king, who exaggerated the valour of his men to him, and the contempt shown to his

cour a chosen troop of eight hundred German horse, led on by Count Giordano an experienced warrior :
 1260. another thousand were taken into pay ; all the Ghibellines of Tuscany flocked to it, and a very numerous host of the most ferocious enemies of the Florentine government was collected at Sienna : of this body however the German horse formed the nerve, they were taken into pay for three months, whence Farinata, seeing that if he did not gain upon them before this term, he would be without money to continue them in his service, endeavoured to draw the Florentines to an action*.

Having by means of trusty emissaries, who were two friars, made the first people of the Florentine republic believe that if their army had moved towards Sienna, under pretext of reinforcing Montaleino, a gate would be opened to them to liberate the city from the tyranny of Provengano Salvano, a powerful and lofty citizen ; the fraudulent invitation was believed by the Florentines, and although many, and particularly Fogghiago Aldobrandi of the Adimari, with the strongest obstinacy†

flag, engaged the king in the enterprise with great fervour, as Farinata had foreseen.—Malasp. cap. 164.

* In the account of the memorable deed of arms of Monteperti, and in the events which preceded it, we have followed Ricordano Malaspino a contemporary writer, whose authority appears therefore superior to every other. Nevertheless the Siennese historian Malevolti denies many of these facts, asserts that Count Giordano had come since December of the foregoing year with eight hundred horse, whence the story of the insults offered to the ensigns, &c., cannot be true. If really in the public books of Sienna authentic documents are found of his assertion, there is no reply. But it would not have been mal-a-propos, if he had repeated the words of the public books, as he often does.

† In the same tone spoke Gherardini : he was ordered by the Anziani to hold his tongue under pain of one hundred lire, he chose to pay the fine but to speak ; the fine was doubled and he

tried to dissuade them from a useless enterprise, since they would have conquered by patience, and time would have fought for them, a very numerous army took the field, of people, but not of soldiers. It is said there were not less than 30,000, and auxiliary troops came from all the allied cities, or those subjected to the Florentines, but as the Ghibellines had been expelled from these cities, the latter had united at Sienna and the Guelphs at Florence, and the two armies presented the sad spectacle of division and civil war in the whole of Tuscany. From Arezzo alone it is asserted that nearly 5,000 came to the succour of the Florentines under the command of Donatello Tarlati, whilst another band of outlaws, conducted by their bishop * had joined in Sienna, and if we are to believe Raffaello Roncioni, a chosen body of 3,000 Pisans also came to Sienna. The army of the Guelphs was superior in number to the Ghibellines, that faction being predominant in Tuscany, but probably there was not that disproportion which some historians wish to make us believe. The army of the Guelphs marched on as to certain victory, hoping to enter Sienna without fighting; arrived upon the hills of Monteperti they halted to receive advice from the Sienese to proceed further. Nothing is more capable of disconcerting a leader and an army than to see an enemy courageously advancing to meet them, whom they had believed either beaten or fugitive: thus the Florentine generals, who went to the certain conquest of Sienna, when they perceived the enemy advance boldly, at the head of whom was the German troop, so

even paid the penalty of three hundred lire for the sake of telling useless truths. He was finally made silent by the threat of penalty of his head.—Malasp. cap. 166.

* Leonar. Brun. His. lib. 2. Giugurta Tomm. Ist. Sanese par I. lib. 5. Malavolti, lib. 1. p. 2. Ptokemeus Lucens. Ann.

formidable an enemy to them, began to despair. They came to blows, and both sides fought with great valour; but the Florentines, unable to resist the attack made upon them by the Germans, gave way. Treachery added to increase the consternation. Many Ghibellines, hidden in time of the battle, went over to the enemy. Among the rest, Bocca, of the Abati, before going over to the other side, aimed a treacherous blow at Jacopo Vacca, of the family of the Pazzi, who carried the ensign of the republic, and brought him to the ground with the loss of an arm*. This act spread terror amongst the Florentines, who could no longer distinguish friends from foes: the only opposition was made around the triumphant chariot which contained the flags, and around the better part of the defenders†, who were disposed rather to purchase for themselves an illustrious death by valour, than their safety by flight. A part of the broken army had taken refuge in the Castle of Monte Aperti. The castle being taken by force, the refugees were cut to pieces‡. It is not easy to ascertain the number of the killed in a battle, since the conquerors always exaggerate it, and the conquered conceal it; the latter, or the Florentine writers, acknowledge only 2,500 killed, and 1,500 prisoners,—but the number must have been far greater, though not equal to the exaggeration of the Ghibelline historians§. This battle is reckoned among the most

* Malesp. cap. 167.

† Leonar. Bruni, Hist. Fior. lib. 2.

‡ Ammir. Hist. Fior. lib. 2. Dante.

. . . . la strage, e il grande scempio
Che fece l'arbia colorata in rosso.

§ The most authentic monument would be the letter of the Siennese written to King Manfredi, wherein the killed are made to amount to 3,000 only, but probably it is apocryphal.—*Vedi Cronica San. Rer. Ital. scr. tom. 15, e nota del Benvoglianti.*

1260. bloody of those times, and was fought on the 4th of September. The Siennese celebrated the victory with solemn pomp, in which the triumphant chariot, (carroccio,) of the Florentines, was seen dragged upon the ground, and the name of City of the Virgin was taken by Sienna on this occasion, as a devout attestation of gratitude to heaven for the happy issue *.

* Malvotti Ist. de' fatti e guerr. de' Sen.—On the coins to the words Sena Vetus was added *Civitas Virginis*. This historian, in order to give the whole glory of the day to the Siennese, excludes the succour of the Pisans. Benvoglianti too wishes to exclude the influence and the aid of King Manfredi.—Read the victorious answer of the Cav. Flam. dal Borgo, Diss. 6 dell' Ist. Pisana, who confutes the two writers without leaving them time to reply. We have particularly followed the account of Malespina, contemporary writer, and the most ancient, and consequently more respectable.

CHAPTER XI.

DECLINE OF THE GUELPH PARTY.—COUNCIL OF EMPOLI.
—MAGNANIMITY OF FARINATA, OF THE UBERTI FAMILY.—WAR WITH LUCCA AND THE EXILED GUELPHS.
—ARRIVAL OF CHARLES OF ANGERS IN ITALY.—BATTLE NEAR BENEVENTO, AND DEATH OF MANEFROI.—REFORM OF THE GOVERNMENT OF FLORENCE.—DISTURBANCES WHICH ENSUE.—DESCENT OF CONRAD OF SUABIA INTO ITALY.—ENTERPRISES OF THE PISANS ARMED IN HIS FAVOUR.—BATTLE OF TAGLIACOZZO.—FLIGHT OF CONRAD, WHO IS ARRESTED, AND DELIVERED OVER TO CHARLES.—DEATH OF CONRAD.—PEACE OF CHARLES WITH THE PISANS, AND WITH THE OTHER CITIES OF TUSCANY.—PEACE BETWEEN THE GUELPHS AND Ghibellines OF NO EFFECT.—CIVIL WAR BETWEEN THE PISANS FOMENTED BY KING CHARLES.—DEATH OF POPE GREGORY X.—NEW AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GUELPHS AND Ghibellines IN FLORENCE.—AFFAIRS OF SICILY.
—CELEBRATED SICILIAN VESPERS.—NEW CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN FLORENCE.

THE defeat of Monteaperti was a very fatal blow to the Guelph faction in Tuscany and throughout Italy. The consternation into which the vanquished were thrown was such, that they did not venture to remain and defend themselves in Florence. Nine days after the defeat all the Guelphan families voluntarily departed; the greater part retired to Lucca, which was the only Guelphan place remaining in Tuscany, as Prato, Pistoia, Volterra, &c., followed the fate of the conquerors; and the Guelphs were obliged to remove from these cities*. The conquerors were not long in arriving at Florence, where, unable to vent themselves further against their enemies,

* Malasp. cap. 170.

they began to destroy their houses ; but what shews the blindness, fury, and injustice, of party rage, not content with destroying the sepulchre on Santa Reparata, erected by public vote a short time before to Aldobrandini Ottobuoni, they took his body out of it, dragged it through the city, and threw it into the ditches*. The estates of the Guelphs were confiscated, and the city began to be governed under the influence or dependance of the King Manefroi. Count Jourdan being obliged to depart, a numerous meeting of the Ghibellines was held in Empoli, to concert upon the means of securing to their party the superiority in Tuscany. This assembly was composed of persons, who, although of various interests, were all enemies to Florence. The Pisans, the Siennese, the Aretines, and the other Tuscans, dreaded the increasing power of the Florentines, who threatened them with slavery. The feudal lords, the Counts Guidi, Alberti, of Santa Fiora, and the Ubaldini, whose excessive insolence had been frequently chastised by the Florentines, were anxious for their ruin ; it was, therefore, agreed upon that nothing could give more consolidation to the Ghibelline power than the destruction of the city of Florence, in which the Guelphan party had always prevailed over the Ghibelline, and the unstable vicissitudes of fortune might again establish it. This was the proposition of the ambassador of Sienna, supported by that of Pisa, the cities principally hostile to Florence†. Almost all the assembly adhered to the same opinion, and so respectable a city was about to be condemned to destruction, when Farinata loudly protested in vulgar words, but full of meaning, that he had not exposed himself to so

* Giov. Vill. Is. lib. 6. cap. 64.

† Giugurta Tommasi Ist. di Sienna par. 2. lib. 6.

many dangers in order to ruin his country, but to live in it honourably; and that as long as he had blood in his veins he would not permit it*. The Ghibellines did not venture to oppose him, dreading the valour, genius, and the great party, which this man, worthy of immortal memory, carried with him, since Florence is indebted to him for her existence†. The succour which the cities, castles, and confederated lords, should contribute upon necessity was determined upon; and this was called tax or tally (*taglia*). Count Guido Novello was elected mayor of Florence for two years, and required the city

to swear an oath of obedience to King Manfredi.
1261.

He held a discourse in the old palace of S. Apollinare; and, in order to introduce his people from Casentino with more facility into the city and palace, he opened a new gate in the nearest walls, which gate and the corresponding street were called Ghibelline. The Siennese succeeded in obtaining the destruction of five castles, situated on the confines between them and the Florentines, and which formed a strong defence to the latter; the Pisans, the restoration of many castles taken from them by the Lucchese, taken possession of in the last war with the Florentines. Lucca, of the Guelphan faction, had given refuge to a great number of exiled Florentines; the count marched against that city with the army of the *taglia*, scoured and greatly harassed the territory. The Lucchese resisted bravely; since by the union of the outlawed Guelphs with them from various

* See Dante Infer. can. 10, where the character of Farinata is nobly described, who prophesies exile to the poet:

Ma fu io sol colà, dove sofferto
Fu per ciascun di torre via Fiorenza,
Colui che la difesi a viso aperto.

† Malesp. cap. 170. Amm. lib. 2.

cities of Tuscany, despair inspired valour, and thus they defended themselves for nearly two years against the force of the Ghibelline league of that city so much
 1262. more powerful. The most vigorous war against them was carried on by the Pisans, who aimed at the destruction of Lucca; they were the most active and numerous in the army of the taglia. Although many people left the army, nevertheless the Pisans, united with the Siennese, continued to infest the territory of the Lucchese, and, after having repeatedly defeated them, they got as far as the walls of Lucca, struck coin there, threw arrows into the city, and represented their celebrated mock battle, commonly called the game of the bridge*. At last the Lucchese sued for peace, and obtained it from the Florentines, upon the conditions of entering into the taglia, and expelling all the Florentines and other outlawed Guelphs. This miserable flock of men, women, and children, went wandering and exposing their misery to the eyes of all Italy.

1264. Unstable fortune, however, was preparing to give them vengeance. The popes with their party, continually vexed by Manfredi and by the Ghibellines, seeing the thunders of excommunication

* Breviar. Histor. Pisanæ. Rer. Ital. tom. 6. There this game is called *Ludus ad Massascutum*, perhaps from Massa and Scudo; and this is the first mention of this celebrated spectacle, and not saying that it was instituted at that time, it is to be believed it was practised much before. In Pavia too a similar game is described by Anonimus Ticinense. Perhaps the two arms of Scudo and Mazza were afterwards united in one into the buckler, arm of offence and defence. Lorenzo, of the Medici, is asserted to have resumed this arm, but without proof. Its first institution is unknown, but probably it is of Lombard origin; it is true that in the Anon. Ticinense the Scudo only is described, with which they ran from afar to thrust against each other; but it is not called there *Ludus ad Massascutum*.

against that king of no avail, had frequently implored the French arms to invade the kingdom of Naples. Charles of Angiers, brother to the holy King Louis of France, inferior in sanctity as he was superior in talent to his brother, had accompanied him in the sacred war into Egypt, where their arms met with such ill success*. Returning to France, and still animated by that spirit of enterprise already awakened in him by the crusade, he easily listened to the propositions of the pontiffs Urban IV. and Clement IV., who invited him to the conquest of the kingdom of Puglia and Sicily, and created him Senator of Rome. He made the most vigorous preparations for it; his wife Beatrice employed all her industry, and pawned even her jewels. She was very ambitious of the title of queen, and female vanity had been severely wounded at a time when in company with her three sisters, queens, she had been obliged to set a step lower because she did not enjoy that title†.

1265. Charles, Lord of Provence, collected a powerful army of warriors, which he sent towards Rome, and going on board a fleet of not more than twenty galleys with only 1,000 men of arms, picked and courageous troops, he put to sea, and being singularly favoured by fortune after having exposed himself to the risk of being taken, (as the fleet of Manfredi was under sail which amounted to 80 galleys in Pisan, Genoese, and

* See *Memoires du Chevalier de Jonville*, companion in the expedition of St. Louis.

† Rico. *Malesp.* c. 75. e Gio. Villani, lib. 6. cap. 92. The elder was wife of the King of France, the second of the King of England, the third of the brother elected King of the Romans; these four princesses were daughters of Raimond Count of Provence, which province, the youngest, that is, Beatrice, brought in dowry to Charles.

Sicilian ships, but a storm had dispersed it), he passed unmolested, and entering the mouth of the Tiber, disembarked at Rome.

His army, too, advanced successfully into Italy, commanded by Count Guido of Monforte with whom was Beatrice, the wife of Charles: the hopes of the Guelphs revived, and 400 Florentine horse under command of Count Guido Guerra went to meet the French in Lombardy, and conducted them through Romagna and La Marche, as far as Rome. Charles,
 1266. crowned with his wife by the pontiff, King of Sicily on both sides of the Faro, did not delay a moment in marching against the enemy, although in the depth of winter, and in need of expedition, from the want of the means of subsistence. Near Benevento, on the last day of February, the sanguinary battle took place which decided the fate of that fine kingdom; the exiled Florentines highly distinguished themselves: and King Manfredi after having fought with the greatest valour, seeing his army defeated, and unwilling to survive the defeat, threw himself into the midst of the affray, and was slain. The conquerors, united in the crusade, and full of benedictions and indulgences, horribly pillaged Benevento, a papal city, despoiled the churches, dishonoured the women, and murdered the old men and boys*. The body of Manfredi, found three days afterwards, was meanly buried in a ditch near the bridge of Benevento, to which it was condemned by the hatred, superstition, and little generosity of his rival†. He had the misfortune to give dis-

* This horrid scene lasted eight days, and is described by Saba Malaspina, Guelfan historian, and partial to the faction of Charles.

† See Dante, *Purgat.* canto 3, who in spite of the excommunication in which Manfredi died, has placed him in the site of

pleasure to a body at that time very powerful who painted him in the blackest colours: the most atrocious crimes were ascribed to him, such as the death of his father and brother Conrad; there is, however, no substantial proof of this. Imitating his father, he was a great protector of sciences and letters: the Sicilians and Neapolitans remembered his government shortly afterwards with pleasure; impartial posterity has regarded him with great esteem, and a glorious memorial of this prince remains in the name of Manfredonia built by him. His ruin drew along with it that of the Ghibellines in Tuscany and the remainder of Italy. The Guelphs thus encouraged occupied many castles; the people, to whom the present government is always odious, and who found their hopes in the future, murmured at the burthens imposed upon them by Count Novello to carry on the war.

Whilst the secret groan of discontent was announcing the approach of a storm, the most prudent and devout persons were endeavouring to appease the two factions. Two of the chevalier friars Gaudenti*, were called from Bologna to Florence, who, amongst the virtues of

salvation, softening by poetical imagination the harshness of the theological condemnation which requires, that for every year in which he has lived in ecclesiastical censures, he might pass thirty in purgatory.

Vero è che quale in contumacia muore
Di Santa Chiesa, ancor che alfin si penta,
Star gli convien da questa ripa fuore
Per ogni tempo, ch'egli è stato trenta.

* They were called Chevaliers of St. Mary (Sta. Maria), dressed in white, with the grey mantle; on taking the cloak, they made a promise like the other cavaliers to defend widows and children, and to interpose to make peace. Loderingo of Don Leandolo was their institutor; one of the two who came to Florence, and the other Messer Catalano Malevolti.—Malesp. cap. 83.

which they made profession, practised that of pacifying enmities, and power was given to them to reform the state. They elected thirty-six citizens for the most part from the people and merchants, to consult upon the public affairs: at that time the people were distinguished into seven arts, which were subsequently called greater, when the lesser were added to them; to each of these was given the ensign, banner or standard, (*gonfalone*,) in order that the captains of them, upon necessity, might be ready with their followers*. No distinction was better adapted to a commercial city.

In the mean time the Florentine people, for the most part still of Guelphan heart, had indulged the hope of retaking the state and manifesting their sentiments for the victory of Charles; the thirty-six reformers, together with the two heads or mayors, Chevaliers Gaudenti, appeared to favour this sect. Count Guido, who saw the discontent growing, called to Florence the soldiers from the confederate cities to support himself; but as a great contribution was to be raised to maintain them, the ill-humour of the people increased, who, with Messer Gianni Soldanieri at their head, fortified themselves in trenches at the foot of the tower of the Jeromes, (*Girolami*). The Count with his troop, and the Ghibellines, made head at the square of St. John; but the assailants increasing who attacked them with

* These seven greater arts comprehended first the judges and notaries; secondly, the merchants of French cloths; thirdly, the brokers of exchange; fourthly, those of the art of wool; fifthly, the physicians and apothecaries; sixthly, the silk merchants and mercers; seventhly, the fur merchants. To these were subsequently added five lesser ones, which were afterwards increased and diminished in various reformations, and brought to fourteen, making with the greater, the number of twenty-one.—Macchi. Ist. Fior. lib. 3.

bows, with stones from the windows and towers, he thought himself no longer secure, and retreated cowardly with his followers from Florence to Prato on the 11th of November. The Ghibellines, however, soon perceiving their error, returned to Florence the day following with intention of re-entering it: but were repulsed from the gate of the bridge of Carraia*. The court of Rome seeing what advantage would be derived from the total expulsion of the Ghibellines from Florence, had omitted no means of encouraging that people, by threats even of interdiction, to expel from the city the Germans, who formed the greatest obstacle to her desire, which having obtained, she endeavoured all methods of recalling the city to her allegiance†. The Pisans, from their disobedience to the pope both in the war against Sardinia and against the Lucchese, and for having committed crimes against the court of Rome by their adhesion to the Ghibelline party, had incurred the ecclesiastical censures. The Ghibelline power being overthrown, they now sought a reconciliation with the apostolic see: gold has been always the shortest method of getting out of all difficulties; and the Pisan republic was pardoned upon depositing 30,000 lire in the hands of the pontifical ministers‡.

1267. There was a moment in Tuscany when men, divesting themselves of the frenzy of faction, appeared willing to return to their reason: after the pious offices of the Chevalier Gaudenti it was thought of uniting minds in another manner; many of the Guelphs were recalled and various matrimonial alliances

* Rico. Malasp. cap. 185.

† Marteni Anecd. Thesaur., where are mentioned various letters of the pope.

‡ Breviar. Hist. Pis. Rer. Ital. Scr. tom. 6.

concluded between the hostile families; among the rest that of Guido Cavalcanti, one of the fathers of Italian poetry, with the daughter of the celebrated Farinata of the Uberti. He was no longer alive, and since the year 1264 death had opportunely snatched him from the sight of the ruin of his party, leaving various children, some of whom met with a melancholy end. This peace, however, was only apparent, and had been dictated more from party politics than a spirit of reconciliation: the falling party of the Ghibellines who still remained with some force in the cities of Tuscany, had been obliged to put on the tone of moderation, and the Guelphs not yet sufficiently powerful to oppress it, answered them with the same sentiments: they were both, however, in mask, which soon fell off; for the Guelphs who had been oppressed, wished in their turn to become the oppressors, or assumed, at least, the reins of government. They saw the facility of it. They were certain of the favour of the two first powers of Italy, of the Pope and King Charles, who were interested in so rich a city being devoted to them; added to the favour of the people always ready to despise their old rulers, and well disposed towards new ones. The Florentine Guelphs, therefore, secretly demanded succour from King Charles, who sent them Count Guido Monforte with eight hundred horse; the Ghibellines, not waiting for the arrival of the latter, but foreseeing their fate, for the most part abandoned their country. The Guelphs in gratitude to King Charles offered him the government of the city of Florence for ten years, as the Ghibellines had done to Manfredi; at first the king refused, politely thanking them, but upon new and urgent request being made to him, sent one of his viceroys or vicars, who

was to be changed annually, and who governed with the council of the twelve Buonuomini*. The estates of the vanquished were according to custom confiscated : a question arising, however, upon their destiny, and ambassadors being sent to have the opinion of the Pope and King Charles, the following provision was agreed to, viz., that three shares should be made, one conceded to the community ; with the second the Guelphs to be indemnified who had lost their property in the revolution : the third should be deposited for the wants of their cause, and belong to the Guelfan party. In order to consolidate, however, still more, the government in the hands of the party, it was finally decided that the whole amount of these estates, without division, should appertain to the Guelphs, which gave to them a stable preponderancy ; thus forming a deposit which they took care to increase upon every occasion, and which admirably served, as well in war as in peace, to remunerate the faithful and animate the hopes of the needy. The administrators of this property were three, elected by three sixths of the city, whose office lasted two months, and passed to the other three sixths ;

1267.

and hence the origin of the celebrated captains of the Guelphan party, whose power shortly afterwards increased so greatly, that they became, as we shall see, the tyrants of the republic. The mayor, or vicar of King Charles, with the twelve Buonuomini who corresponded to the twelve aldermen or anziani, could only deliberate and make the propositions : these were to be approved the following day in the council of the eighty, composed partly of the great, and partly of the people, united to the chiefs of the arts ; and finally, when the

M alasp. cap. 185.

resolution was passed in the council of the three hundred, it took the force of a law*. By the common revolutions, in which men follow the party of the conquerors, the cities of Tuscany turned Guelphan, except Pisa and Sienna: the ruling party persecuted the conquered through Tuscany with hostility, and all their meetings were distinguished by mutual acts of passion, of which the following is an example. A number of Ghibellines had taken refuge in St. Hellero, or Hilario, whence they made inroads upon the Florentine territory: the viceroy of Charles marched there, and conquered it with great slaughter of the enemy; among the rest was a youth of the Uberti, who, rather than fall into the hands of his enraged antagonists, threw himself from a tower†. The Guelphs, anxious to take revenge for the defeat of Monteaperti, turned all their force against the Siennese; attacked Poggibonsi where many Ghibellines were assembled; the latter defended themselves with so much valour that Charles himself having arrived at Florence, consumed nearly four months in the conquest of that place; and finally from the total want of provisions obtained it by capitulation. Pisa and Sienna in Tuscany, as the most powerful, continued united in order to support the remains of the Ghibelline faction.

The establishment of the Pisans in Sardinia had been viewed by various adventurers, in search of kingdoms, who turned themselves towards the pope, who gave them away. Don Henry, brother of Alphonso, king of Castile, of a turbulent and restless spirit, and obliged on that account by his brother to leave his court, after a long sojourn in Tunis, arrived in Italy. Cousin of king

* Rico. Malasp. cap. 186.

† Rico. Malasp. cap. 187.

Charles, who, in midst of the riches of Sicily and Naples, was always poor, he had furnished to him considerable sums of money, and was ambitious of being declared king of Sardinia : his cousin opposed it, pretending himself to the right of possession of that island, which gave an opportunity to the pope not to grant it to any one, as he had views upon it himself. The mother of Enzus was still alive, and at the time in which he remained prisoner of the Bolognese, had badly governed the province of Torri, with the assistance of Michele Zanche, one of the celebrated receivers, condemned by Dante to hell, as the minister or husband of that old lady *. The court of Rome, which lost no opportunity of increasing her dominion, kept with her a master father as papal vicar, who had introduced not a few Guelphan military: the Pisans became jealous of this, and expediting a powerful army, commanded by Count Ugolin, of the Gherardeschi family, drove out the Guelphs, and established the Pisan government. The pontiff grew angry, threatened the Pisans with the customary ecclesiastical thunderbolts, but abstained from brandishing them ; perhaps because this republic, which had long and patiently endured them, was grown tired of them, and finally minded them no longer †. All the pretenders to the dominion of this island being excluded, the restless Don Henry of Castile succeeded in getting himself created senator of Rome. In the meantime King Charles, who acted with the title of imperial vicar he had received from the pope, after the taking of Poggibonsi, repaired to the Pisan territory, occupied Castles, and demolished the towers of the Pisan port.

* Dante Infer. Canto 22. See the Comment of Benvenuto of Imola.

† See Martene Anegd. tom. 2. et Cav. Flamm. del Borgo Diss. 7. upon the Pisan History.

The Pisans complained to the pope that this king, his creature, after having persecuted them in his states, and despoiled them of their property, should come to disturb Tuscany: he answered them in a letter singular enough, in which he fully approved of the conduct of King Charles, and threatened the Pisans, if they persisted in their party, with a thousand misfortunes *. Pisa, however, and the Ghibelline faction had taken fresh courage at the news of the approaching arrival of the young Conradin, who was preparing to reconquer his hereditary kingdom of the Sicilies by arms. This put all Italy in motion: the people of the Sicilies, always discontented, rose in various places, and Rome herself, agitated by the turbulent senator Don Henry, declared in favour of young Conradin; the Guelphs were persecuted and despoiled. Charles retreated hastily from Tuscany, to the defence of his kingdom, leaving a small body of troops under the command of William Braisleve.

The young Conradin was between fifteen and sixteen years old, and, on account of his tender age, his mother opposed the enterprise; but the warlike ardour which animated him, overcame all the obstacles of maternal fear. Frederic of Austria, another young man and friend, about the same age, accompanied him. Entering Italy with a fine army, they halted in Verona, where, from want of pay, many of their troops turned back. In the mean time the outlawed Ghibellines joined them in great numbers; and the cities of that party vied with

* This singular letter is mentioned by Martene Tesaur. Anegd. See the Cav. Flamm. dal Borgo, Diss. 7. upon the Pisan History, who, hurt at seeing his fellow citizens compared by the pope to Herod, takes up the anachronisms of the pope.

each other in furnishing money. Pisa was distinguished above the rest, sent ten galleys to the port of Vado, where Conradin embarked, arrived safe at the Pisan port, and made his solemn entry into Pisa on holy Saturday, the 7th of April. A short time afterwards his army arrived, which traversing Lombardy had passed into the Pontremolese territory, and was furnished by the Pisans with provisions. During their stay in Pisa they made sorties against the Lucchese. The Florentines had joined them together with the French corps left by Charles; these troops marched in observation of the enemy, and defending themselves against a superior number, the two
^{1268.} armies, divided by the Guscianella, remained for some time in front of each other. Conradin contented himself with devastating the Lucchese country, and did not choose to engage in an action, which might either diminish his forces or distract him from his principal enterprise. Thirty or forty galleys* with more than 5,000 Pisans on board were furnished by the Pisans for the service of this prince, which were to aid his operations by land, and in fact not only laid waste the Neapolitan coast, but made the most daring attacks. Twenty-two galleys had arrived from Provence at Messina, where nine Messinese galleys joining them, they found themselves in face of the Pisans. The latter kept out at sea, perhaps to gain the wind: the Messinese, thinking they were retiring, began the chase after them, but not being followed by the Provençals, and finding themselves alone and sharply engaged by the Pisans, they fled towards the coast, upon which they saved themselves by abandoning their vessels: the Pisans, however, not content with the galleys, boldly disembarked upon the

* Writers differ; Saba Malasp. reckons only twenty-five.

shore, and attacked the fugitives, who took refuge in Messina, and in the very port, burnt the captured galleys*; they afterwards sacked Milazzo, and would have obtained greater successes had it not been for the discord amongst the commanders.

Conradin had left Pisa the 15th of June, a great number of Pisans joining him, led on by Gerard^{1268.} (Gherardo) of the family of the Counts of Donoratico. He took the Sienna road, avoiding Florence, where he was looked upon with a suspicious eye: he was readily received at Poggibonsi and Sienna: at that time Braisleve, who saw his troops of no use in Tuscany, thought of directing his march towards the kingdom, in aid of his King, Charles, and took the Arezzo road with the French alone: Conradin, advised of this, secretly sent a part of his troops towards Laterine, who lay in wait at a narrow passage, shut in one side by the mountains, on the other by the Arno at Ponte a Valle, where this body, taken by surprise, were either killed or taken prisoners†. Conradin continued his march towards Rome; the pope had shut himself up and fortified himself in Viterbo, where he had begun his war against the enemies of Charles by excommunicating Conradin and the Pisans, and depriving the latter of the honour of the archbishop's seat. After the applauses and the festivals with which he was received in Rome‡, Conradin advanced with a large army to meet the enemy, who had come to^{1268.} oppose him near Tagliacozzo, where they came to blows on the 23rd August. This battle is sufficiently

* Saba Malasp. Rer. Ital. tom. 8.

† Rico. Malesp. c. 191, forse il Ponte a Romito.

‡ The singular festivals and the pomp and ostentation of the precious ornaments which the Romans displayed on this occasion, may be seen in the History of Saba Malesp. loco cit. e lib. 4. c. 6.

known, as well as the victory which Charles owed to Arald of Valery: he was well acquainted with the habit of the Germans of falling into disorder at the beginning of the victory from avidity of plunder: and he caused the best troops to be hidden behind a hill together with King Charles. The action commenced; and the French being broken at the first onset, the Germans fell into confusion in their haste to seize the booty just as Alardo had foreseen; when Charles sallied forth with his chosen band, and entirely defeated them*. The army being dispersed, Conradin, with Frederic Duke of Austria, and Gerard of Pisa, finding themselves alone, disguised themselves for safety, and hiring a small vessel in

1268. Astura, embarked in it. A suspicion arising that they were persons of importance, from a precious ring which Conradin, wanting money, offered to the master of the boat, chase was made after them by Frangipane, lord of the place; they were taken and fell into the hands of Charles. The barbarous sentence, by which this sanguinary king condemned Conradin to lose his head upon the scaffold, without any other crime than having endeavoured to recover his paternal kingdom by arms, is well known. The royal youth suffered death with intrepidity,

* This is the account of all the historians of the times; it is true that in the letter of King Charles to the pope, written upon the field of battle, mentioned by Martene (*Tesaur. Anegd. epis.* 690). no mention is made of the stratagem of Alardus; but it being supposed that the king would not attribute to others the merit of so great a victory, has passed over this circumstance, it has been thought necessary to conform ourselves to the universal consent of the historians of those times.—Vedasi Ric. *Malasp.* c. 192. Giov. Vill. Nicobald. *Rer. Ital.* tom. 9. Saba *Malasp. Rer. Ital.* tom. 8. Sozom. *Istor.* Charles, in commemoration of the victory, caused an abbey to be built near Tagliacozzo, with the name of Santa Maria della Vittoria.

and only complained of the affliction the tidings of it would cause his unfortunate mother, and of the fate of his companions, whom he had involved in his disgrace; and having embraced and kissed them, he suffered the fatal blow. In him finished the house of Suabia, rendered so illustrious by the two Frederics and by Manfredi. The Neapolitans even could not look upon the cruel execution without tears; the tender age, the beauty, the innocence, and courage of the young man had rendered him more interesting: after him Frederic of Austria and Count Gherardo of Donoratico lost their heads. Galvano Lancia first saw his son put to death before his eyes, and then suffered himself the same fate,

1263. with many other princes and barons. Charles signalized himself in cruelty: cities sacked, the people slaughtered, soldiers who had done their duty hanged, sealed his victories. By the comic representation of the formalities of a trial, Charles endeavoured in vain to give a colour of equity to a barbarous action; the death of Conradin was necessary to his safety, and rarely obsequious judges offer an opinion different from that of their sovereign*. The Pisan fleet, hearing of the misfortune and sad catastrophe of the Suabian prince, retired to its port.

The ruin of Conradin spread consternation amongst the Ghibellines of Italy, and particularly those of Flo-

* Ricobaldo, a Ferrarese historian, relates having heard from Giovacchino of Reggio, who was present at the trial, that among the rest, Guido of Suzzara, reader of laws in Modena, and Reggio, who was then in Naples, publicly maintained that Conradin could not be condemned. Mur. Ann. d'Ital. The thrust given at the breast of the judge who was reading the condemnation by Robert of Flanders (Rico. Malesp. c. 93) the glove thrown by Conradin, in token of taking possession of his rights, at D. Pietro of Arragon, (*Æn. Silvius*, histor. Austr.) smell strong of fable.

rence. Many of the latter were in Sienna, where Count

Novello had also retired after his shameful flight.
1269. Some squadrons of Germans and Spaniards, remains of the army of Conradin, had been paid by Provenzano Salviani, who was almost Lord of Sienna*; by the aid of the Pisans, and outlaws led on by Count Guido Novello, a large army had been collected, which marched against Colle. There were only four hundred French horse in Florence: without losing an instant the vicar of Charles, Giov. Bertaldo, advanced with them, and the Florentine troops that could follow him, against his more numerous enemies; and availing himself of the disorder into which the camp was thrown by changing position, attacked and discomfited them with great slaughter to the Siennese. The remembrance of Monteperti made the Florentines cruel. Provenzano being taken, had his head cut off with many others: Count Guido however, either more cautious or timid, saved himself in time. Peace was made with the Siennese upon condition that the Ghibellines should be driven from Sienna, and in this manner Sienna became Guelphan.

1270. Amongst the Ghibellines who were obliged to fly, there were three respectable personages of the Uburti family, perhaps sons of Farinata, and one Grifone of Figline. Being overtaken in their flight, and conducted to Florence, the sanguinary King Charles, when asked about their fate, condemned them to death; the youngest of the Uburti was alone pardoned on account of his age; but met with even a worse sentence, being sent prisoner to Capua, where he finished his days unhappily. Of the other two brothers, Azzolin, on going to death being asked by Nericozzo, whither they

* Guido da Cor. His. Pis. Fragm. Rer. Ital. tom. 24.

were being conducted; courageously answered, *to pay a debt left to them by their ancestors*, thus proving himself the worthy son of Farinata *. Poggibonsi at every time the centre of this faction, and now in rebellion against the Florentines, was dismantled; it was at that time large and populous, and had more the appearance of a city than of a borough. Ostina shortly before had met with the same fate.

The Guelphan party was now predominant in Tuscany: Pisa almost alone preserved her attachment to the Ghibellines; she was however incapable of opposing so many enemies, supported by a victorious and powerful monarch. The Pisans met with a happy opportunity of entering into conditions with him, and their enemies the Guelphs. His brother, the holy King Louis of France, always animated by a zeal of fighting the Saracens, and generally unlucky in his enterprises, led a powerful army against Tunis, to which he invited his brother Charles; the latter, who dreaded the fleets of the Pisans, and the consequences of a war that he left kindled in Tuscany during his absence, easily made terms with them, and did not disdain to send four ambassadors to the republic, who soon agreed upon conditions. The other cities of Tuscany held a congress in Pistoia, and at the intercession of the royal viceroy and the other ambassadors, an agreement was entered into.

The affairs of Tuscany being settled, peace was made; and the Florentine republic continued some time tranquil under the protection of King Charles. The hatred however between the two parties in Italy was still alive; and although in Florence the fire was covered over with

* Guidus de Corvara, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. tom. 24.

the ashes, (the concealed Ghibellines wanting the power and not the ill-will) it was ready to burst out at the first stir. Whoever was not interested in it, saw the necessity of removing so great a scandal. Such was the Pontiff Gregory, who although an Italian, had lived a long time out of Italy*, knew neither worldly interests nor the importance to his secular dominion of supporting a faction adherent to the popes; the Pisans easily therefore were reconciled with him, upon the condition of receiving a garrison of the pope in some controversial castles. They were absolved, and the honour was restored to Pisa of an Archbishop's see†.

In the mean time the pontiff arrived at Florence on his way to Lyons, where he had ordered a general council, in order to excite the faithful once more to the expedition against the Holy Land. Florence was at the same time honoured with the presence of Charles, King of the Sicilies, and of the Greek Emperor Boldovin the Second, who, after having passed his early youth as a royal mendicant to the European courts, after having sat upon the throne of Constantinople for several years amidst wants and difficulties driven out of Greece, had returned to his former miserable and vagabond life. Many cardinals and barons accompanied these sovereigns. Before them, the virtuous pontiff, full of apostolic zeal, endeavoured to pacify minds and appease discords; the Guelphs did not dare to resist his authority, and in a solemn function, rendered more majestic by the presence of so many august personages, many of the exiled Ghibellines having been recalled, peace was publicly made

* He had been Archdeacon of Liege, whence having passed into Soria he had heard the news of his election in Acri.

† Guid. de Coro. Rer. Ital. tom. 24.

between the two parties. Scaffolds had been erected upon the shore of the Arno near the Rubicon Bridge; Here the principals of the two factions embraced and kissed each other. The pope thundered out his strongest censures against the violators; but King Charles, more politic than pious, did not like the reconciliation so contrary to his interests, and which would have taken away his influence over this powerful republic. Four
1273. days had not elapsed, when the Ghibellines, insulted by the ministers of the king, and by others of the Guelphan party, thought better to seek safety in flight, than in the promises and pontifical censures. The pope enraged, departed, leaving the city under interdict*. Arriving in Lyons he held a solemn council, the principal object of which was the usual one of that time, and to which the hitherto unextinguished enthusiasm of Europe was directed, viz., the conquest of the Holy Land: measures were taken; and in order to remove every obstacle to the passage from Europe to Asia, one of the many apparent reconciliations was effected between the Greeks and Latins.

In the peace made in Tuscany all the cities, either by good will or force, had become Guelphan, or at
1274. least took laws from this faction, except Pisa, which with more dignity than the others in peace,
1275. remained Ghibelline: it had been tolerated by the Guelphan Tuscan faction, in order not to rekindle a dangerous war, as it appeared that the Pisans were united in that party: but shortly tumults arose even there. The Visconti and Gherardeschi, principal families of Pisa, were Guelphan; the first possessed the jurisdiction of Gallura, in Sardinia, and affecting that

* Malasp. cap. 198. Amm. lib. 3.

overbearance of which the nobles made so much
1275. glory in those times, had, since former years, excited dangerous tumults. John Visconti, after having caused the Ghibelline Gualfreducci to be assassinated, and having taken away by violence even assassins from the hands of public executioners, being summoned before the tribunal, was bold enough to appear there, and openly confess his crime. The weak government, although it pronounced against him and the Count Ugoline Gherardeschi, by whom Visconti had been maintained in his overbearing proceedings, a condemnation of the former to Rosignano and Vada, and of the latter to Montopoli; was obliged fifteen days afterwards to recall them. Returning to Pisa, proud of their impunity, John became more insolent, caused two other Pisan citizens to be assassinated, and seeing that the irritated populace were about to rise against him, fled into Corsica to his jurisdiction of Gallura. Being pursued thither by the arms of the Pisans, conquered and fugitive, he mounted upon the Galleys of King Charles, repaired to the courts of Santa Flora, and was exiled from Pisa. Count Ugoline of Gherardesca refusing to pay the tax of a lordship he possessed in Corsica, had been deprived of it, and sent to prison. Other powerful families were discontented because they were obliged to obey the laws, Count Anselmo of Capraia, and the Upegginghi went away, and joined the exiled Visconti. The discontent of these

1275. Pisans gave courage to the Guelphs to change the state of that republic: the greater part of the Tuscan cities made league with the rebels, and gave them their assistance. The fierce old John Visconti marched against his country, laid siege to the castle of Montopoli, and made himself master of it. The Pisans in vain reclaimed to King Charles, with whom

they had concluded peace. He gave them good words and letters for his viceroy in Tuscany, with an order to desist from the war; but probably sent them secretly a contrary order, since the viceroy continued to act against the Pisans, nor was the transgression punished with his recall; and on the other hand, it was of much consequence to King Charles, that Pisa alone in Ghibelline Tuscany changed faction. In the mean time John Visconti died in Montopoli with his son Lapo, but the war did not cease*. Other citizens fomented it. Count Ugoline came out of prison panting for revenge, departed with his sons for Lucca, and, encouraged by the Florentines, carried on the war against Pisa, which was unable to resist all the forces of Tuscany, united to the French soldiers, led on by the royal vicar: the consequences, therefore, 1276. were not very advantageous to the Pisans. The barrier of the Rinonico ditch was useless†, excavated between Pisa and Pontedera, at a distance of about eight miles from Pisa, and nearly ten in length, which began with the Arno; although defended by military engines, it was taken by the Florentines‡. Pisa saw herself under the necessity of accommodating and receiving

* For this series of events, read Guido da Corvara, quoted place, the manuscript history of Cav. Roncioni, Cav. Flamm. dal Borgo Diss. 8.

† Thus called from the neighbouring village Rinonichi, and called by mistake by the Florentine historians Arnonico, as the Cavaliere Flamm. dal Borgo, dissertation the eighth, upon the Pisan history, has shewn. The ditch passed to the place now called the Fornacette, where it discharged into the Arno the waters that it brought from the marshes, serving thus for two objects which shortly became useless. The defence was small, as well as the declivity, a defect which the rise of the bed of the Arno rendered still greater.

‡ Ric. Malasp. c. 203.

laws from the conquerors, was obliged to restore the place to Count Ugolino, other castles to his colleagues, and to restore the expelled Guelphs to Pisa pardoned and free from the penalty of banishment*. The Count Ugoline, the Visconti, the Count Anselmo, and Capraia, returned to Pisa triumphant with the Upezzinghi and other Guelphs; and although Pisa maintained herself Ghibelline, the former, and particularly Count Ugolino, had great influence in the government; since supported by the ruling party in Tuscany, their operations could not be questioned without danger to the public tranquillity.^{1276.}

The holy Pope Gregory, always just in his views, without any worldly interest, indifferent to the Guelph and to the Ghibelline party, had even from Lyons exclaimed against this war, and fulminated his excommunication, by means of his legate in Pisa, against the obstinate Guelphs, although ancient favourites of the holy see†; hence having returned to Tuscany, he was still more irritated at the Florentines, who were already placed under excommunication. In his journey he wished to avoid Florence, but was hindered by the flood from fording the Arno on the other side of it. It not being decent for a pope to pass through a city that was cursed, he passed his benediction again upon it on re-entering it, and again excommunicated it when he departed; following his journey he arrived in Arezzo, where he died, and his body beatified is still preserved there. This pope had ordered that, in case of a pontiff

* Ric. Malasp. c. 203. All the other conditions may be read in the eighth dissertation upon the History of Pisa, by the Cav. Flamm. dal Borgo.

† Guid. de Corv. loco. citat.

dying out of the *curia*, in the same place without loss of time they should proceed to elect a new one*. The palace, therefore of the Aretine bishop had the honour to become conclave, where the new pontiff, Innocence V., was elected.

1277. Florence had remained some years tranquil enough; the ferment of the Ghibelline faction was wanting, but the desire of ruling over others is too inherent in the heart of man; a useful plant when it leads them on to seek a distinction by virtuous actions, and pernicious when they seek to obtain it by force. This dan-

1278. gerous plant unfolds itself more easily in republics; the nurses, therefore, both of great virtues and of great crimes, but for the most part turbulent and agitated. From envy of riches and emulation of power another faction was rising in Florence, between the Donati and the Adimari, which drew along with it other powerful families, and partly insensibly mixed with it the masked Guelphan and Ghibelline animosities.

1279. Men of sense in those lucid intervals, in which reason ruled over the passions, seeing the importance of peace, having agreed with the community, sent ambassadors to the pope, praying him to unite minds. Nothing will appear more puerile to the sensible reader than the frequent reconciliations of the Florentines, violated almost immediately afterwards; but men, blinded by party, are always children in sense. Nicolas III. accepted the arduous undertaking, and charged with the execution of it the Cardinal Frangipane his legate in Romegna. He had been a religious Dominican and celebrated preacher. He came to Florence with three hundred chevaliers. The exiled Ghibellines endeavoured

* Decretal. 6. Bonifaci 8 de Elec. e Elec. Poss.

to get themselves included in this reconciliation; after much negotiation, an agreement was entered into between the factions, the Ghibellines were recalled, and upon various scaffolds, erected in the old square of Santa Maria

^{1280.} Novella, the chiefs of each faction embraced each other, in face of the people and all the magistrates, on the 18th of January; the cardinal at the same time exhorted them in an eloquent oration to concord*. Fourteen Buonuomini were elected, eight from the Guelphs, and six from the Ghibellines; and in their hands was placed the government of the city. Many citizens, however, of each party, whose presence was dangerous in Florence, were confined within the patrimony of the church,—others abandoned the city, and retired to their country-seats. A general peace was solemnly confirmed on both sides; bails were given, and very heavy pecuniary fines fixed for whoever failed in paying due regard to them. By such an act the

^{1281.} Pope acquired in Florence a greater influence than Charles, whose power was feared by the Florentines; since, although he was regarded as a friend and creature of the church, the excessive power of a king gave always jealousy to the dominion of the popes and the Florentine republic. He had, however, suffered blows sufficiently painful; Sicily, that groaned under his iron sceptre, finally threw off the yoke. John of

^{1281.} Procida, follower of the Swabian faction, was the principal author of the motion. Charles had confiscated his estates. He incited to this enterprise Peter of Aragon, whose wife Constance, daughter of Manfredi, had inherited the rights. John himself came disguised into Sicily, in order to inflame the people to the rebellion, and obtained from the Greek emperor subsidies in

* Malasp. cap. 205. Amm. lib. 3.

money, promising him a powerful diversion from the enterprise which Charles was preparing against him. Peter had already moved with his fleet when the Palermitans, unable any longer to suffer the insults and tyranny of the French, chanted the celebrated Sicilian vespers wherein they massacred all the French that were in the city; the whole of the island was shortly lost, and Peter of Arragon was received in it as a liberating angel. These misfortunes of Charles did not greatly displease the Florentines, as his power had begun to make them suspicious, that a prince, so greedy of dominion, might domineer over them.

The last reform of the government, by which the Ghibellines were admitted among the first regulators of the republic, could not be stable; dictated by a momentary expansion of heart, and by conscience more than by politics, it must have appeared dangerous to the jealousy of the Guelphs so greatly superior in number: and, on the other hand, it was difficult at every change of rulers to find six Ghibellines to the common satisfaction; the conditions of the established peace were broken; the Ghibellines, excluded from employments; their revenues withheld from the exiled, who were finally declared rebels. The flame of discord was now rekindled; the wisest sought for remedies; and a meeting was called, in order to propose to them six citizens, among whom was the historian Dino Compagni, although very young, and consequently untried in the dangers of popular discords; his voice however was listened to, and advice accepted. The government was again changed, and three persons were elected, called priors of the arts, who were to be changed every two months; this was the supreme magistracy, and with the captain of the people managed the most important affairs of the republic. It began the

15th of June: after two months the number was increased to six, elected by each sixth part of the city. Such was the beginning of the celebrated magistracy that maintained itself for so long a time in Florence. It appears to have held the executive power, and to have assembled whenever there was any necessity of councils for their deliberation. The Florentines, attentive also to whatever might still more secure the republic, and remembering that the nobles had been always the insti-
1282. gators of discord, studied how to keep them at their duty; not thinking it right to exclude them from the exercise of the public employments, they required at least that when they had taken the name of citizen, they should enroll themselves amongst one of the arts*, trades, (*arti*,) or professions.

* Giac. Malasp. Seguito dell' Ist. cap. 214. Gio. Vill. lib. 7. c. 82. Dino Compagni, lib. 1.

CHAPTER XII.

**POWER AND RICHES OF PISA.—WAR WITH THE GENOESE.—
BATTLE OF MELORIA AND DEFEAT OF THE PISANS.—
LEAGUE OF THE GUELPHAN CITIES AGAINST THEM.—
TREATY WITH THE FLORENTINES, AND CESSION OF THEIR
CASTLES.—FACTION OF THE VISCONTI AND GHERAR-
DESCHI IN PISA.—HORRIBLE PUNISHMENT OF COUNT
UGOLINO WITH HIS SONS AND NEPHEWS.—REFLECTIONS
UPON THE CRIMES ATTRIBUTED TO THEM.—VICISSI-
TUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SIENNA.—DEATH OF
KING CHARLES OF NAPLES.**

PISA had been humbled in the last war and obliged to receive laws from the conquerors; but even in her misfortunes had given proofs of her power, since alone she had courageously defended herself for a considerable time against the whole of the Tuscan confederacy, supported as it was by King Charles, and if she finally yielded, she still preserved a fierce and imposing attitude. Rich and powerful, the opulence of her citizens had rendered her one of the most considerable cities of Italy; the Visconti, the Gherardeschi, and many other families who possessed lordships and estates in Corsica and Sardinia, however they may at times have disturbed her tranquillity by their great influence, lived there in magnificence and splendour. The costly and sumptuous sacred edifices of the cathedral, of St. John, of the leaning tower, erected in the two last centuries, and the Holy Field, (Campo Santo,) which was completed in this year, are authentic and ocular proofs of her riches. Her dominions lay particularly upon the maritime coast, and extended from

the Corbo* to Civita Vecchia. She ruled, too, over the islands of Sardinia, Corsica, Capraia, Elba, Pianora, Gorgona, Giglio, Monte Christo †; hence her maritime dominions were more extensive than those by land, which is proper for a maritime people. Her power, indeed, was particularly naval, since in the seas, which in that
 1282. age were called remote, in the Levant, and upon the coasts of Syria, she held establishments, which, however precarious, were sufficient for commerce; and as late as the fifteenth century she preserved a port at the bottom of the Black Sea, which was even then called Pisan Port, (Porto Pisano) ‡. The numerous fleets of one hundred, and even two hundred, ships, often armed by this republic, display the riches which had been derived from industry and commerce. Her maritime force formed her real power, which made her respected and feared by emperors and kings, and her friendship often sought for; but she was now rapidly approaching her decay. The Pisans had been hitherto one of the three principal maritime powers, and had divided with the Venetians and Genoese the empire of the seas at that time known. Jealousy of commerce had brought them frequently to arms, and each sought her own aggrandizement upon the ruin of the other. Pisa had seen another industrious republic rise by the side of her, the Florentine; whose

* The Corbo, or Corvo, is the eastern part of the Gulf of Spezia, a little distant from the mouth of the Magra.

† This dominion is known from two solemn treaties made by the Pisans; one in the year 1265, with the King of Tunis, Elmiro di Momino; the other in 1230, with Mico, one of the African kings, and in which, on account of mutual interests, the places governed by the Pisans are mentioned.—See Flamm. dal Borgo of the Pisan History, Diss. 4.

‡ See the History of the Commerce of the Tuscans, mentioned hereafter.

riches and power were continually increasing. She should not have been jealous of the latter, because, unskilled as Florence was in maritime arts, which ^{1282.} gave her strength, and being in need of the sea, she would have always remained in a certain dependance upon Pisa, if she had not been tyrannically treated. It would have been the interest of Pisa to have remained in alliance with Florence, the two republics being frequently able to assist each other with their mutual succours. A false policy, however, had rendered them rivals, from a diversity of opinions respecting the Guelph and Ghibelline faction, (which was the scourge of Italy,) as well as the pitiful interest of miserable castles. The vanity of extending a steril dominion upon land had given rise to obstinate wars between them, wherein the blood, industry, and gold were lavished, which, had they been employed in the great object, by which these two republics became great, navigation and commerce, would have rendered them, probably, arbiters of Italy. Pisa fell from her ancient grandeur, first, by losing her maritime power, afterwards, her liberty, at a time when she maintained a dangerous rivalry with the Florentine republic. She was at war with the Genoese: had in past times fought against them with various fortune, and unlucky events had been balanced with the most prosperous. We have already seen, that by her fleet, united with that of Frederic II., the Genoese had been defeated near the Meloria, a rock at that time as glorious to the Pisan arms as it was hereafter destined ^{1282.} to be fatal to them. In 1258 the Pisans had fought in the seas of the Levant, united with the Venetians, against the Genoese, and gained a complete victory by the capture of twenty-four galleys; these victories of the Pisans, and their alliance with the

Venetians, had somewhat disheartened their rivals, and until the year 1282, peace had subsisted between them ; or at least, that repose which grows out of weariness and mutual dread.

The turbid and unstable genius of Sinoncello, judge of Cinarca, furnished the principal motive for a new war. This man, having lost, in his early youth, by the death of his father, his estates in the Island of Corsica, had fled to Pisa, had been promoted, and made himself great in arms, by her assistance and support, and was sent into Corsica as governor and judge. One part of this island was at that time held by the Pisans, another by the Genoese : the active Sinoncello, by his name and valour not only regained his lands, but extended them even to Bonifacio. Dreading, however, the power of the Genoese, and in order to conciliate them, since the year 1249, forgetful of the benefits received from the Pisans, he agreed to acknowledge his estates in feud from Genoa ; but becoming afterwards more secure and insolent, after having offended the Pisans, he began to molest the Genoese themselves, and all the other merchants who arrived at that island. Genoa was under the necessity of keeping him in rein, sent troops into Corsica, who in a few days occupied his lands and

1282. obliged him to save himself by flight. He took shelter at Pisa, where, having repented of the rebellion, he protested he would acknowledge the ancient sovereignty of the Pisans. The latter wished to give him protection. A Genoese ambassador came to persuade them, that they ought not to take a rebellious scoundrel under their shield ; the pride of the Pisans received this embassy with disdain, continued obstinate in protecting Sinoncello, dismissed the Ligurian ambassador, and sent their own people to Genoa to declare

their intention of defending the vessel by arms. The Pisans were treated by the Genoese with equal hauteur; hence the fatal war was resolved upon*. Perhaps the latter hoped, by the valour and influence of that man, who was supported by their arms, to regain the part of Corsica which the Genoese held; and, in fact, when sent back there with a small reinforcement of a hundred and twenty horse, and two hundred foot, he was enabled to recover his lost estates. Various battles, for the most part to the disadvantage of the Pisans, preceded the decisive day; some of which we will briefly mention. The Pisans insulted Porto Venere by disembarking troops upon it, and sacking it; but the Genoese were revenged by a tempest which wrecked seventeen galleys upon the Tuscan coast with the loss of the greater part of the crew†. Reciprocal insults were multiplied 1283. during the whole year; many merchant-ships of the Pisans were taken, and in the mean time both sides made use of extraordinary alacrity to equip the most formidable armaments. A Pisan fleet of fifty-four galleys had been conducted by Andreotto Saracini towards Sardinia in trace of the enemy, and not meeting them, having landed, the people re-conquered various rebellious cities: after this enterprise the fleet sailed towards Piombino, imprudently detaching fifteen galleys as corsairs to another station, whilst she might run the risk of meeting the enemies' fleet either equal or superior; fifty-four Genoese galleys came out in search of the Pisan fleet commanded by Uberto Doria, and not meeting with it near Sardinia, sailed towards Piombino. Saracini did not think it prudent, with his

* Filippini Istor. di Corsica, lib. 2.

† Foliett. Hist. Genuens. lib. 5. Aur. Ann. Genuen. Rer. Ital. tom. 6.

inferior force, to cope with the enemy, and kept himself shut up in the port of Faleria, fortifying the entrance, which Doria blockaded. In the mean time the fifteen Pisan galleys that were separated, joined again. Doria having discovered them, detached thirty-two of his own to attack them: the Pisans attempted to fly; and wishing to avoid being taken, driven by a strong *scirocco* upon the coast, one of them went to pieces, and three became a prey to the Genoese, with six hundred prisoners. The Pisan admiral not having been accused of cowardice, we must suppose that the fleet shut up in the port was either not in a state to go out, or was prevented by the wind; since it might at that time have attacked the fleet that blockaded it with a superiority of number. A storm afterwards caused the Genoese to leave Faleria, when Saracini came out, and returned to Pisa with the disgrace of having been blockaded, and a spectator of the ruin of a part of his fleet*.

The two republics, heated with animosity, prepared with the greatest vigour, in the following year, for the most bloody contests: twenty-four Pisan galleys escorted two large ships laden with troops to appease the rebellions which had been excited in Sardinia by the Genoese. One of these vessels, in which was Bonifacio Gherardeschi, having separated, found herself in the midst of the Genoese fleet of twenty-two galleys, which were making for the same place, and was taken; as the Genoese saw the enemies' fleet approaching, they took out the best of the crew from the captured ship, set fire to her, and advanced courageously to the combat, which was ferocious and obstinate, but victory finally declared for the Genoese; the Pisans lost thirteen galleys and one sunk, and near 6,000 between killed

1283.

* Foliett, Hist. Gen. Jacob. Auria, Ann. Gen. loc. cit.

and prisoners: this happened on the 7th of April*. These repeated losses obliged the Pisans to ask succour from the Venetians, in alliance with whom, in the Levant, they had often beaten the Genoese. Albertino Morosini, a Venetian, mayor of Pisa, endeavoured to effect a confederacy, but in vain; the Venetians chose to remain neutral. True policy, however, ought to have counselled them to support a power, by the ruin of which, their determined enemies, the Genoese, increased so much in strength; and they had reason enough afterwards to perceive their error. The last misfortune, instead of discouraging the Pisans, inflamed them still more with a desire of vengeance; they made one of their greatest efforts by arming seventy-two galleys, the command of which was given to Count Ugolino, already very powerful in Pisa; the flower of the nobility and Pisan citizens accompanied it, to which were added other smaller vessels. But instead of attacking the Genoese fleet, only thirty galleys strong, which were in Sardinia under the command of Giacaria, and which they might easily have overpowered, they lost a
 1284. precious time by insulting the city of Genoa,

* See Guido da Corvara, (*Rer. Ital.* tom. 44.), who places the battle on the 1st of May: the fragments of Pisan history in Italian, (*loc. c.*), and the Genoese annals, (*Rer. Ital.* tom. 6.), all these agree upon the number of galleys described by us, and are the documents least respectable. Cav. dal Borgo, following more authentic documents, and having little regard for the glory of his citizens, although in every other place he is most zealous for them, numbers thirty-four galleys on the part of the Pisans, and twenty-two of the Genoese. During the battle he makes a reinforcement arrive to the Genoese, led on by Arrigo del Mare; but it does not appear, that as the indicated disproportion existed at the beginning, the Genoese would have hazarded, nor would it have been glorious to the Pisans, with a third more of the galleys, not to have gained immediately a decided superiority.

shewing themselves before the port, throwing against it a few mortars, and challenging the Genoese to battle; and after these useless bravadoes returned home*. Nothing is more valuable in war than season and opportunity. The Genoese had recalled the army of Giacaria with all expedition from Sardinia, and soon equipped a fleet of eighty-eight galleys with many other smaller vessels, the command of which was given to

1284. Obert Doria. Putting to sea, and hearing that the Pisan armament was near Meloria they advanced to that port. Doria, fearing that the superior number of their vessels might oblige the Pisans to refuse battle, and retire into harbour, advanced only with fifty-eight galleys, ordering the division of Giacaria to remain behind with the remaining thirty†. The Pisans accepted battle, which was fought on the 6th of August

* It is strange that no Genoese writers give an account of this bravado, and content themselves with saying that they boasted of doing it, but no one says that they executed it.—See Gio. Villani, lib. 7. c. 91.

† Historians vary much upon the circumstances that are of little moment, and upon the number of the ships on the one side and the other, making the Pisans amount to one hundred and the Genoese to a hundred and fifty, but it is agreed that the Genoese fleet was very far superior. If, however, at the approach of the enemy, new ships were armed in Pisa; if the archbishop made the benediction upon the Arno, although almost all the Pisan historians attest it, and Villani among the Florentines, it may still be doubted; since the necessary time appears to be wanting, as Cav. dal Borgo has laboured to prove, and therefore denies the calumny of having little religion, imputed by Foglietta to some Pisans, who, seeing in that ceremony the Christ, which stood upon the top of the standard, fall down by accident, and that the same was taken by some for a bad omen, exclaimed, “Sia pur Cristo, per i Genovesi, e per noi il vento.” Let Christ be for the Genoese, and the wind for us.—See Foglietta, lib. 5. Giac. Malesp. c. 221. Vill. lib. 7. c. 91. Contin. Caff. Marangone Giust. Bezari.

with all the fury and animosity of two nations seeking to destroy each other. The succour which arrived to the Genoese with Giacaria, and which the Pisans did not expect, probably decided the fate of that day. The galley upon which was the mayor of Pisa, Alberto Morosini, fought furiously with the admiral's ship, commanded by Admiral Doria, who was joined,^{1284.} however, by other principal galleys commanded by Admiral Giacaria. Even the galley which bore the great Pisan standard, was taken by the galley called St. Matthew, (San Matteo), where were many of the family of Doria, and by the galley Finale the great standard was torn and broken down, and the defeat was complete. Twenty-seven Pisan galleys were taken, and seven sunk; the remainder rendered unserviceable, with the advantage of night they saved themselves in the neighbouring Pisan port, and with three of these the Count Ugolino escaped. The killed amounted to 4,000, and many prisoners, among whom was the son of Count Ugolino. These losses, with those in anterior battles, amounted to about 11,000, and all of the most considerable persons*. This event destroyed the maritime power of Pisa, which could never again recover itself and assume the rank of her rivals. Many illustrious republics, as ancient and modern history demonstrate, have risen after the most heavy losses. Pisa, however, was no longer in this condition, and various causes combined to prevent her regaining it; the first of which was the loss of her bravest and wisest citizens taken prisoners, and whom the Genoese, actuated by a cruel and useless policy, refused to set at liberty; and

* Some make the number greater: the proof of the greater number is the saying of that age, that whoever wished to see Pisa should go to Genoa.

being kept in prison for nearly fifteen years, or so long as the war lasted, the greater part of them finished their life in wretchedness*.

Without such men Pisa became a ship without a pilot, and could more easily be governed by those factions who had not the public good in view, but their own private interest. The second cause is to be found in the formidable war that the rival republics of Florence and Lucca declared against her, with all the Guelphan Tuscan league united with the Genoese. The Genoese and Lucchese ambassadors came to Florence, where an alliance was formed for the total ruin of Pisa. The celebrated Brunetto Latini attended this meeting with the other heads of the government, probably as secretary of the Florentine republic†. The effects were not long becoming visible, for the army of the Florentines entered into the valley of the Era (Val D' Era,) that of the Lucchese occupied some castles, among the rest Ponte a Serchio, and at the same time Spinola with a powerful fleet attacked the Pisan port, and gained the tower^{1284.} of the Lantern‡. Seeing the doleful aspect that affairs wore, a general consultation was held in Pisa upon the common safety. In this confusion one of the most respectable persons was the Count Ugolino, to whom the city looked for counsel and assistance. It is probable that this cunning man had views from that time upon the sovereignty over Pisa, and perhaps on that account proposed rather an accommodation with the Florentines than with the Genoese, in order that those citizens should not be liberated and sent back to Pisa, who might contend with them for the government. The

* Flamm. dal. Borgo dell' Ist. Pis. Diss. 11.

† Auria Rer. Ital. loc. cit.

‡ Guid. da Corv. Cron. Pis. Rer. Ital. tom. 24.

discourse, however, that Leonardo Bruni puts in his mouth is very sensible, when asserting that Pisa, as a maritime power, should regard as an enemy Genoa, her rival at sea, rather than Florence which depended upon Pisa for her commerce. The count was not attended to at the beginning, and an arrangement was sought for rather with Genoa; but the latter, thinking the period arrived for the ruin of her rival, sternly refused*. It then became necessary to embrace the counsel of the count. He had been always a friend of the Florentines because they were followers of the Guelphan party, and through their influence he had been sent back to Pisa with the restitution of his estates: he was considered

therefore the person most adapted to treat for
 1285. an accommodation, and the Pisans created him mayor and captain of the people. It was not, therefore, difficult for him to conclude an agreement upon very grievous conditions for the Pisans. They were obliged to cede to the Florentine republic various important places, St. Mary on the Mountain, (Santa Maria a Monte,) Trucchio, the Holy Cross, (Santa Croce,) Mount Calvoli, (Monte Calvoli,) and to exile the most zealous Ghibellines from Pisa; which city returned to the Guelphan party.

The cession of so many castles was considered treason†. It is very probable that the count, aiming at becoming sovereign of Pisa upon the favour and support of the Florentines, made presents in the con-

* Caff. Ann. Gen. Rer. Ital. tom. 6.

† Such was the report spread by the enemies of Count Ugolino, and upon which says Dante,

*Che se il Conte Ugolino aveva voce,
 Di aver tradita te delle Castella,
 Non dovevi i figliuoli porre a tal croce.*

cessions: but, on the other hand, peace could not be obtained without great sacrifices, and if the war had continued, the whole of Tuscany pouring down upon Pisa by land, and the victorious Genoese by sea, her total extermination would have been certain. If too it is true, as fame relates, that the bottles of *Verdea*, (a kind of white grape,) sent as a present by the count to the heads of the Florentine government, were full of florins of gold, this adds nothing to the supposed crimes of the count, and is only another proof among the many of the imperious power of that metal.

^{1285.} Human opinions are so often uncertain and unjust, that the heads of the Florentine government were accused of the same crime laid to the count, who, having a rare and propitious opportunity of destroying Pisa, and seduced probably by the gold of Ugolino, had neglected it*. And, in fact, their allies, the Lucchese and Genoese, making loud complaints, it became necessary to quiet the former by new concessions, and Bientina, Ripafratta and Viareggio were ceded to them.

The Count Ugolino, thus invested with the offices of mayor and captain of the people, conferred upon him for ten years, became, by the support of the Guelphs, the arbiter and lord of Pisa; but his nephew, Nino Visconti, judge of Gallura, although of the same party, was his rival in the government, and having influence enough to obtain an equal share in it, Pisa had at that time two

* Giov. Villani, lib. 7. cap. 97., says "that the Florentines prepared in the spring to besiege Pisa, and that they were very much blamed on this account," and adds—"and certainly if the Florentines had followed up this promise and vow, the city of Pisa would have been taken, destroyed, and reduced to a village, as it was ordained."

rulers with paramount authority. But supreme power, divided, has rarely held a government tranquil; 1286. and dangerous rivalships immediately took place between the two governors. In this dispute, the nephew probably perceiving that he was eclipsed in Pisa, by the power of the other, had gone with his consent to govern or rule over Sardinia*. But, dreading his insubordination, and in order to watch over his proceedings, and to keep him in rein in case it became necessary, Count Ugolino sent into Sardinia his son Guelf, who not only took possession of the government of the feuds of his own house, but of all the province Collieritana†. This event kindled more furiously the flame of discord between the Visconti and Gherardeschi; their quarrels threw the city and vicinity into the greatest agitation, and frequently the streets of Pisa and its castles were deluged with blood by the rival factions. Visconti, with his party, took upon him to accuse Ugolino of resisting the peace with the Genoese, by unveiling a dangerous secret, forgetful, when blinded by the rage of ambition, that those means had assisted both. Whilst the Guelphs of Pisa were thus divided into two parties, the ancient Ghibelline faction existed in that city, which had been obliged to yield to imperious circumstances, and conceal its sentiments in silence. Seeing its persecutors torn by divisions, this party now took courage. It was composed for the most part of the people, priests and friars, persons well adapted to instil into the minds of the vulgar whatever sentiments they think the most opportune. The head of this party was the Archbishop Ruggero Ubaldini, who, however, for a long time dissembled his sentiments,

* Frag. His. Pis. Rer. Ital. tom. 24.

† Ptolem. Lucan. loc. cit.

shewing himself the favourer at times of the one, and at times of the other rival. It would be too tedious and disgusting to go minutely through the series of calamities in which the Pisan republic was involved for nearly two years: in these civil wars the two rivals were exposed to various vicissitudes; they renounced the government in order to appease discords, but having once tasted the cup of supreme power, they were so inebriated with it, as not easily to abandon it. The grandfather and the nephew, who had so often fought for the sovereignty, having abandoned it, and feeling the pain of the loss, became friends again, and united, in order to re-conquer it by force; for this purpose they entered with arms in hand into the palace of the community, and in that of the people, driving out the vice-regent Messer Guidoccino; and the nobility, both Guelphan and Ghibelline accompanied them officiously, and consented that

1287. they should re-assume the supreme power. The cunning Archbishop Ruggiero, not seeing the time for vengeance yet ripe, not only gave his consent to the change, but, mastering his anger, was able to deny even the death of his nephew, who had been killed barbarously by the hands of the same Count Ugolin. This ferocious old man, however, wished to be alone in the government, and having re-assumed the reins with the assistance of his nephew, thought of getting rid of him: the archbishop seconded him with the view of ruining him also. Ugolin had retired on purpose to his villa of Settimo, that in the mean time, the sedition might break out against his nephew, which the archbishop was fomenting. Visconti perceived the storm rising against him, and when he saw the Count Ugolin obstinate to the reiterated invitations made to him to support the common cause, and foreseeing what was preparing for him,

departed suddenly from Pisa. The Count returned and found they wished to give him, as companion in the government, the Archbishop Ruggiero, which he refusing disdainfully, the two parties took to arms, led on by their respective heads, the Count and Archbishop. Much blood was shed; Ruggiero was conqueror, and the Count yielding with his sons and nephews and other followers, retired and fortified himself in the palace of the people; which, being also attacked by the conquerors, and fire set to the gate, he was obliged to surrender himself at discretion. The Count Ugolin and his two sons Uguccione and Count Goddo together, with two young nephews, Anselmuccio son of Count Lotto, and Brigata son of Count Goddo, were taken and loaded with chains. The whole were shortly afterwards shut up in the tower, since called of Hunger, (*della fame*)*, from their fatal catastrophe, depicted in sublime and black colours by Dante. The count was guilty of many crimes in face of the Pisans; his sons were less so than himself, and still less his young nephews. Confounded together in the same atrocious punishment, they awaken the compassion of all writers; and it is a misfortune for Pisa, that one of the most sublime pieces of Italian poetry, that no polished Italian is ignorant of, and which many foreigners are well acquainted with, should be united with a satire upon her.

A learned Pisan has employed much genius and learning to swell the crimes of the unfortunate Ugolin, and make him more odious than is necessary, excusing

* This tower is situated on the square now called of the Cavalieri, the remains of which form a piece of the palace where is the clock, it is composed of two ancient towers united together with an arch; the part nearest to the conventual palace was the celebrated tower of Hunger. —See Flam. dal Borgo, sull' Ist. Pis. diss. 11.

his fellow-citizens: as we are treating of so celebrated a period of Tuscan history, it will not be ill-timed to offer a few brief reflections upon it, and impartially to give the just weight both to the crime and the punishment. The first crime of which that learned writer makes the count guilty, refers to the expedition prior to the battle of Meloria, commanded by Ugolin himself. Having found the port of Genoa without armed ships, he ought, says he, to have disembarked the troops, to have attacked and made himself master of the city. There is little ground for this accusation, since the enterprise would have been very imprudent; nor could he have expected, with the troops that were with his fleet, to conquer a populous city like Genoa, full of brave people and animated by national hatred. After the great victory gained by the Genoese, the latter never thought proper to try the conquest of Pisa, now so much disheartened, and deprived of her best citizens. Nor is the second accusation of greater weight, in which the loss of the battle of Meloria is attributed to him because he advised it. No writer of any note imputes this blame to him; the Pisans almost uniformly demanded battle*,

* All writers, both Pisan and foreigners, attest it. Flamm. dal Borgo himself, although he accuses him of that crime adds: "and in them (the galleys), as if they were going to a certain victory, were sumptuously equipped all the flower of the nobility and Pisan youth." This indicates general consent. Maragone, quoted by him in proof of his opinion, says nothing of the advice to fight given by the count, on the contrary, even he exaggerates the wish that the Pisans had to fight; here are his words: "Messer Oberto Moresino mounted the first upon the said galleys, and the same did all the rest, with such a desire to fight that it appeared to them a thousand years before coming to blows, fearing they might turn back," &c. It is necessary, however, to observe that this writer is not of that

and Count Ugolino could not, among so many naval warriors far more experienced than himself, have
 1288. an influence sufficient to make them determine against a preponderating party. Morosini was mayor of Pisa, a naval man, and consequently of greater authority than the count; and if the latter, at the end of the battle, retired with three galleys into the port, an unseasonable and useless resistance would have increased the number of the Pisan prisoners. The third crime of which more notice was taken in those times, and of which the greater part of the historians who speak the public opinion, accuse him, is, of having betrayed Pisa, by consigning many of the castles of the Pisan republic to the Florentines and the Lucchese in order to purchase peace. We have already seen what weight may be given to such an accusation: we will only add, that with the advice of the same prisoners of Genoa, full power was given to Count Ugolino to conclude the peace*, and it was necessary to do so at

respectable antiquity that merits the most credit. He wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and is full of errors; of which we will give a single example. Relating the battle of the Pisans with the Genoese, in which the prelates and cardinals were taken, which happened, by testimony of the Pisan, Florentine and Genoese writers, in the year 1237, he makes admiral thereof, Count Ugolino Buzzacherino; when afterwards he relates the atrocious death of Count Uggolino, he adds: "The just judgment of God, who willed thus to him for having caused to die and be drowned in the sea so many prelates, and for his acting against Christ." It appears that he has confused one Count Ugolino with another, since the Count Ugolino of Donoratico had no part in the first battle of Meloria. Such a writer is no great authority. Marangone has copied the chronological error from Rico. Malespini, and Tronci has copied from Marangone in giving the title of Count to Buzzacherini, whom Villani calls Messer Ugolino.

* Ann. Genuen. C. Caff. Pisani cognoscentes se non posse re-

all events. The Lucchese and Florentines with all Tuscany united by land; the Genoese conquerors by sea against the Pisans alone, broken down and ruined by the last misfortune, rendered the final destruction of Pisa inevitable. It can alone be doubted, that the count from being favoured by the Florentines, in governing Pisa, might have been a little generous with them, but it was finally necessary to receive laws from the conquerors. A crime far more probable is, that the count prevented, as far as was in his power, the peace of Pisa with Genoa: he had an interest in doing so; the peace was connected with the return of the prisoners, among whom were persons of the greatest importance, who would have bridled his ambitious views. In fact, he was many times accused of this crime, there are, however, no direct proofs of it: the contrary party frequently went shouting through Pisa, *Death to those who do not wish for peace with Genoa*. Nevertheless a very ancient Pisan writer affirms no one moved, because it was perceived the cry was raised more in order to ruin the count than from any other motive*. Four of the prisoners came afterwards from Genoa, bearing the conditions of peace that were offered to them: these are not known, but must have been very heavy: the count, with many of the first citizens, would have refused it, but as it was supported by the contrary party, in order to put him to shame, he yielded at last, and the peace was concluded†. He is,

sistere societati prædictæ, volentes suæ civitatis evadere ruinam, de consilio carceratorum, qui erant Januæ, data est potestas et plenum dominium Comiti Ugolino, &c.

* Fragm. Hist. Pis. Rer. Ital. script. t. 24. "E conoscendo li Pisani che non lo facevano per pace volere, ma per confondere le Conte Ugolino, non si levonne a romore."

† Fragm. Hist. Pis. loc. cit. "There came to Pisa Messer

however, accused of having secretly hindered it by causing the Genoese merchant vessels to be attacked,

1282. after the agreement by the Pisan corsairs; the accusation is not without foundation: the corsairs

armed themselves in Cagliari and in Orestano, places subjected to Count Gaddo, son of Ugolino, who was in Sardinia; hence by the connivance of the father and son, and perhaps of both, the armament was made: and the conjecture increases in force, since the Genoese taken by the corsairs were brought into Orestano and there put in prison*, what they would not have done without being certain of the approbation of the governor. Of this crime, which is very probable, Count Ugolin could not excuse himself: although the peace was very grievous to the Pisans, it was necessary to make it in order to re-establish in the bosom of tran-

1288. quillity, navigation and commerce, which had been ruined, and to liberate so many unhappy

persons from a cruel imprisonment. Lastly, a kind of tyranny he exercised over the Pisans, his cruelties towards them, the disturbances and the tumults, are his crimes which are proved by the series of events

Guglielmo of Ricoveransa—to make peace between the Commune and the Commune of Genoa, who had treated of the conditions with the Commune of Genoa. And in order that the peace might be very harsh and impossible, because Visconti was on the side of the prisoners, and wished it in order to confute and destroy Count Ugolin who did not wish it, nor any of the wise men of Pisa, the Count Ugolin, in order not to create a noise and call the people upon him, consented to repair to a greater council in the Dome where they met, and order that it should be made according to the conditions entered upon with the Genoese," &c.

* Ann. Genuens. Contin. Caffar. loc. cit. Even in these annals it is not positively assured that the Corsairs were armed by those who did not wish for the peace, but they make use of the words, *ut fertur*.

related. It is true that the supreme power he exercised, with the title of mayor and captain of the people, was not entirely a violent usurpation, because the will of the Pisans concurred in it: the influence, however, of his riches and his adherents made him aspire to it; but the same has happened in every country where the powerful citizens, with all the means either of force or favour, hope or fear, have determined the unstable and factious populace. The disposition of the Count was truly sanguinary and cruel, qualities common to the feudal lords of those times, the disputes, the tumults, the civil battles were very frequent in all the turbulent republics of Italy, and not alone in Pisa; the ambition of Ugolin, of Visconti, of the Archbishop Ruggiero, placed arms in their hands; and if in the latter contest the archbishop had yielded, he would have met with the fate of dying in the tower, with the name of
 1288. traitor; since the conquered are always in the wrong. The discreet and impartial reader, from the observations here made, has before him a just view of the criminality of Count Ugolin, and may judge whether the punishment was correspondent to it. The atrocity of the punishment will not be lessened at all, even adopting the story of an uncertain author, who asserts that a fine of 20,000 lire was imposed upon the imprisoned family, with privation of food until they had paid it; nor will any sensible person, I think, believe, that, able as they were to pay it, they chose rather to die of so cruel a death*. The most respectable writers,

* Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. 14. Frag. Ist. Pis. The narration of the fine comes from an author, whose name is neither known, nor the age in which he wrote. If, however, as it appears, the whole of the code referred to by Muratori with an interruption, was written by the same author, he lived after the year 1337,

either Pisan or Florentine, uniformly mention the doleful occurrence as it is generally known. The Pisan writer has been more successful in shewing, that the sons, and even the nephews of Count Ugolin, were not innocent children; a circumstance probably imagined by Dante in order to increase the pathos of his tale. The whole of the family of the Counts of Donoratico did not perish in that tower; the Count Lotto was still prisoner in Genoa, and Count Gaddo, governor of a province in Sardinia, besides other nephews, whose vicissitudes are detailed at length by the historiographers of Pisa, and of that illustrious and unfortunate family, whose ruin, instead of bringing peace to Pisa, kindled against her a fiercer war, the Florentines marching on one side to revenge their friend and ally, and on the other the Lucchese, who had been joined by Nino Visconti, judge of Gallura, a fugitive from Pisa. The latter occupied the castle of Asciano, and in the mean time the other outlaws devastated the country, spreading everywhere desolation and terror.

down to which year he comes, and therefore less respectable than Guido da Carvara, a contemporary writer with Count Ugolin and inhabitant of Pisa, who relating how the Count with his son was thrown into prison, and died there of hunger, does not speak of the pecuniary fine. Mur. loc. cit. Something analogous to the story of the anonymous writer is mentioned by Bartolommeo of Lucca, *Rer. Ital.* tom. 11. An. Dom. 1288. "Dominus Ugolinus capitur à Pisanus, favente e coadjuvante Archiepiscopo cum multis clericis, cum duobus filiis Gaddo e Brigata et uno nepute Henrico ponuntur in carcere, ibique post longam extorsionem pecuniarum fame ibidem pereunt." To deny credit to Giov. Villani because he is a Guelphan, and enemy of Pisa, is an injustice: this writer, instead of defending Count Ugolin, regards him as a traitor, upon the common opinion, for which we have seen how little foundation there was; hence he deserves credit when he speaks of his punishment.—Vill. lib. 7. cap. 120, 127.

Of the three principal republics of Tuscany, Florence, Pisa and Sienna we have already frequently seen the two former agitated by jealousy and pre-eminence of government. Sienna was not less so, nor did she less rapidly change her political constitution. As in these times very essential changes took place, it becomes necessary to connect the principal of them together in a short picture.

In the beginning the government of the Siennese republic was in the hands of gentlemen, (*Gentiluomini*). They might have preserved it in stability, if discords on account of the Guelph and Ghibelline factions had not divided them. Each of the factions, in order to make itself stronger, endeavoured to draw over to its party a portion of the people, and having often come to arms taught the common people by experience, that they possessed the power, if they had the wish, to make themselves masters of the government. They began to ask it peaceably; neither party dared to oppose them, and they received the people into the government, who at the first participated only of the third share, creating instead of two, three consuls, one of whom was taken from the body of the people. The General Council of the nobles was formed of one hundred persons, nor could more than one person for a house be admitted; five families alone, being very numerous, viz., the *Piccolomini*, *Tolomei*, *Malevolti*, *Salimbeni*, and *Saracini*, were permitted to have two. In that reform, however, wishing to preserve the same proportion, fifty of the people were added to the hundred gentlemen*. The people knowing their strength, and having tasted the pleasure of governing, after some time wished for a larger share, and shewing

* Malov. *Istor. Sene.* frag. 1. lib. 3.

themselves ready to make pretensions to it by force, they obtained it peaceably. The authority of the consuls by the introduction of the mayor, (as we have seen already,) was very diminished; it was determined that twenty-four persons should be the rulers, chosen indifferently from the nobles or people, who were to be renewed every year. This appears to have happened about the year 1232, to these were afterwards added twelve others. The gentlemen did not much like this diminution of authority, and by their quarrels and insults irritated the people still more, who taking greater courage finally drove out the nobility entirely from the government, in the year 1280. The magistracy of thirty-six appeared to the reformers too numerous, both on account of the difficulty of being all of one accord, and the necessary secrecy in affairs, and it was reduced to fifteen, called governors and defenders of the community and people of Sienna. Even this number was thought afterwards too extensive, consequently, four years afterwards it was reduced to nine; and this is the origin of the celebrated magistracy, or Mountain of Nine, (*Monte di Nove*). It was agreed, for the necessary expedition of affairs, that they should inhabit the same palace, and the period of their government was not to exceed two months. From the magistracy of the nine supreme rulers of the republic, (such was the dread and jealousy of the powerful), were not only excluded the nobility, but the citizens and merchants who were too rich, the doctors and notaries. This was the government that was fixed in these times, that is, in the year 1284; it long maintained itself amidst continual agitations, some of the principal of which will be explained in their place.

Charles of Naples now died, a dangerous enemy of

the Florentines. He had experienced both prosperous and adverse fortune; favoured by her in battle, he subdued two powerful kings, Manfredi and Conradin, and gained the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily whilst he was still Lord of Provence, and held great influence over the Florentine republic. Fortune, however, changing covered his last days with bitterness. He saw himself hated by his subjects; lost Sicily where all his men were put to death in the most horrible manner; was deluded by Peter of Arragon, who after having wrested

1288.

Sicily from him, treated him with contempt, by making him go uselessly to Bordeaux to the concerted challenge, to which the former had feigned to adhere in order to gain an important time; and to this was added the captivity of his eldest son, in the battle that this imprudent young man accepted from Ruggieri Loria.—Charles died amidst the agitations of preparatives for his revenge; a great example of the variety of fortune, and a useful lesson to governors, since he owed a great part of his misfortunes to his own cruelties. His son was proclaimed King of Puglia, but after having saved his own life with great trouble, amidst the irritated Sicilians, was sent prisoner into Spain; the rival of Charles, King Peter of Arragon, died also at this time. Alphonzo, his eldest son, succeeded him in the kingdom of Arragon, and James his second son, in that of Sicily.

CHAPTER XIII.

REPUBLIC OF AREZZO.—POWER OF THE BISHOPS.—EXPULSION OF THE GUELPHS FROM THE CITY.—WAR BETWEEN THE FLORENTINES AND SIENNESE.—BATTLE OF CAMPALDINO.—WAR BETWEEN THE FLORENTINES AND THE PISANS.—CAPTURE OF CALCINAIA AND OF PORTO PISANO.—CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT IN FLORENCE.—PEACE WITH THE PISANS.

ANOTHER republic in Tuscany had begun to be distinguished, and to display her power against the
1288. Florentines.

Arezzo, according to the dubious records of ancient history, was respectable among the Etrurian cities, powerful during the greatness of the Roman republic, and particularly so in the second Punic war*; was involved in the common misfortunes when the Gothic and Lombard invasion spread desolation and ignorance over Italy, and began to rise again under the conqueror of the Lombards, Charlemagne. That pious and powerful sovereign, ruler of so large a portion of the globe, and who, consequently, gave away whole provinces, as well as cities and castles, who was at the same time so generous to the altar, particularly distinguished the Aretine church, when he honoured the city of Arezzo with his presence.

1288. He appears on that occasion to have made magnificent presents to the bishops, among the rest, probably the city of Cortona, which long remained subject to him (the bishop), both in her spiritual and temporal govern-

* Tit. Liv.

ment*. In the following ages the Aretine bishop became one of the most powerful lords, not only of Tuscany, but of all Italy; his secular dominions were immense, extending from the Tiber to Montalcino, from the Alps of Bagno to Trasimeno; so that they comprehended the half of the Casentine, of the upper valley of the Arno, (Valdarno,) of Chianti, a considerable part of the territory of Sienna as far as within two miles of the city, Pienza, Montalcino, Cortona, Montepulciano, with all the valley of Chiana, the captainship of Arezzo, the vicarage of Anghiari, and part of the modern diocese of St. Sepulchre†. The bishop held not an absolute empire over Arezzo, which pretended to govern herself as a republic, and elected her mayors and other rulers; but his power and riches would have given him an influence almost sovereign, had he possessed sufficient political talents. The bishop was, moreover, prince of the empire, and thus, uniting the spiritual with the temporal power, he became the person best adapted to govern those people, and keep them in allegiance. Cortona rebelled from her lord about the year 1230, and for nearly twenty-six years maintained herself independent: the admonitions and ecclesiastical threats, thundered from Rome against the Cortonese, were tried in vain to recall them to the ancient government, until a man succeeded to that seat, who employed force in lieu of the weak ecclesiastical arms.

The bold young William (Guglielmino) Ubertini was a prelate more fitted, according to the testimony of a contemporary writer‡, to wield the sword than to wear

* Guazzesi, dell' ant. Dom. del. Viscovo d'Arezzo.

† Guazz. loc. cit.

‡ Dino Compagni. The bishop, who was better acquainted with the business of war than of the church, &c.—Cron. Rer. Ital. Script. tom.

the gown. Ill brooking the rebellion of Cortona, in 1258, he collected a numerous body of troops, and assisted by the community of Arezzo, and Astoldo, of the Rossi family, the mayor, he marched upon Cortona; and penetrating into it, either by open force, or nocturnal stratagem, carried dismay; destroyed the walls and the fortresses. The first class of citizens fled to Castiglione del Lago; but that population, from a timid policy, not receiving them, they were obliged to live for a long time under tents*. The Florentines looked upon such a conquest with an evil eye, and perhaps would have attempted

1288. some enterprise against the bishop of Arezzo, whom they perceived to be of the Ghibelline party; but the dread of this faction, which was still increasing through the influence of the King Manfredi, the fear of the Siennese, and the defeat of Monteperti, prevented them from succouring the exiles, who, finally, in the year 1261, returned to Cortona, and quietly acknowledged the dominion of the bishop of Arezzo†.

During his long government of that church, young William (Guglielmino) continued of the Ghibelline party; and although sometimes according to the circuitous roads which the heads of governments are obliged to take from interest, he evinced an inclination to the Guelphs, nevertheless, whenever he could follow his own wishes, he promoted the interests of the Ghibellines. Thus when Florence, Sienna, and the greater part of Tuscany, followed the Guelph party, he made a strong castle rebel, in 1286, from the Siennese, called the hill of St. Cecilia, and maintained it with such vigour, that the forces of the Florentines and Siennese which were united to con-

* Giov. Vill. lib. 6. cap. 6. Guazz. loc. cit.

† Guazz. loc. cit.

quer it, consumed no less than five months ; after which the rebels, despairing of pardon, attempted to escape by night, but many of them were taken, put to death, and the castle was destroyed*. This useless attempt excited great noise throughout Tuscany, ruled by the Guelphan party, whence it may be supposed the bishop was blamed too by the Aretine government, which following the fate of other cities, was governed by the Guelphs with popularity under a ruler called the prior of the people, who kept down the power of the great. Hence must have arisen the change of Arezzo, in the year following 1287, in which the bishop, taking advantage of the period of the death of the Pontiff Honorius, and of King Charles, having joined the Ghibellines of the city, and the powerful lords of the country, drove the Guelphs from Arezzo, taking into his own hands the supreme power of that republic. These changes were not effected without blood, and the unfortunate prior, perhaps in recompense for his justice and impartiality, had his eyes taken out†.

The Florentines, moved by this blow which proved to them that the enemies' faction was increasing in strength every day, thought they ought no longer to dissimulate with the bishop, and the community of Arezzo, and determined upon war. The Aretines engaged in it with a courage that approached to imprudence‡, since they had to contend both with the Florentines, and Siennese, and were even the first to commence hostilities, scouring the neighbourhood of Monte Varchi, and according to

* Giov. Vill. lib. 7. c. 109.

† Giov. Vill. loc. cit.

‡ It is on this account that Dante has called them Battoli, that is, little dogs :

Ringhiosi pui che non chiede lor possa.

the ruinous method of making war in those times, burning and laying waste the country; whence they entered the Siennese territory, drove the Guelphs from Chiusi, and restored it to the Ghibelline faction. The Florentines, no longer able to support such insults, took up arms, and called from the cities of the Guelphan confederation, all the troops which, by the convention of the Taglia, they were obliged to keep in pay. With the aid therefore of Sienna, Lucca, Pistoia, Prato, Volterra, and the other cities and confederated lords, they collected the greatest army since that of the unfortunate battle of Monteaperti, and marched towards Arezzo; pitching their camp at Laterine, a very strong castle, and got possession of it in eight days by the treachery of Captain Lasso. The Aretines, not having strength to cope with them, remained shut up within their walls; the confederate troops arrived, and finding no opposition, devastated the country, and, by way of insult, on the eve of

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St. John the Baptist, run their races before one of their gates, as they were wont to do in the quiet occupation of Florence. They did not, however, venture to attack the town; and, after devastations, and conflagrations, retreated towards their own city. The Siennese separated themselves from the Florentines, and took the road of Val di Chiana. The Aretines, getting knowledge of this division of the army, marched rapidly after the Siennese with not more than three hundred horse and two hundred foot, and waiting for them at the pass of the Pieve al Toppo, attacked and routed them, made many prisoners of the principal families of Sienna, and their leader, Rinuccio Farnese, was killed*. The power

* Giov. Vill. lib. 7. cap. 119. Malav. Ist. di Sienna, par. 2. lib. 3. Cron. Sanens. Rer. Ital. tom. 15. Dino Compa. lib. 1.

and courage of the Aretines continued to increase after that Pisa, having put Ugolin to death, and returned Ghibelline, joined them. Many inroads were made by the Aretines, and the Florentines with reciprocal losses; the two armies remained inactive in front of each other, near

^{1289.} Laterine, divided by the Arno, whence the Aretines being dislodged, sent a body of light troops by the road of Bibbiena, and Casentino, which rushed into the valley of Sceve, (Val di Sceve), scattering such terror amongst the Florentines, that they speedily recalled their army*. This war continued for some time, and the country was everywhere laid waste.

In the mean time, Charles II., King of Naples, who had come out of prison, passed through Florence; and after being received with the highest honours by the Florentines, as son of their great ally, prosecuted his journey towards Naples. The Aretines thought of attempting a bold stroke, by imprisoning King Charles, who was considered as an enemy, and was travelling with a small escort: for this purpose they silently put in motion a resolute and active body of troops. The Florentines, however, getting tidings of it, and having assembled a sufficient force in the greatest haste, joined the King, and escorted him in safety as far as the Siennese confines. The animosities excited by reciprocal offences had increased to such a degree between these two rival cities, as to occasion various bloody rencontres. The Florentines collected a numerous body of troops, and received succours both from the confederate cities, and Bologna and Romagna. Americ of Narbonne commanded the army, a general given them by King Charles: the army

* Giov. Vill. Ist. lib. 7. cap. 23. Leonard. Bruni, Hist. Flor. lib. 3.

of the Aretines, inferior in number, at least, by one third, had the brave Bishop Guglielmino at their head, with the troops of their friends Count Guido Novello, at that time mayor of Arezzo, Buon Conte of Montefeltro, and Guglielmino of the Pazzi family. The Florentines made a feint of approaching Arezzo by the Valley of the Arno (Val. D' Arno) having planted their standards at Ripoli on the 13th of May; but on the 2d of June, having suddenly transported them to the right bank of the Arno, the army moved towards Casentino to attack the castles of the count: the Aretine bishop, in order to defend Bibbiena, marched his troops on the same side; the two armies met near Poppi a Certomondo, and the Aretines, although inferior in number, did not refuse battle, which was given them in the plain called Campaldino on the 11th of June. The Florentines were routed in the onset, and although by their number they made amends for the extraordinary ferocity of their enemy; terror and confusion was spread through their ranks to a degree that they were about to give way, and would have suffered a total defeat, had it not been for the courage and resolution of Corso Donati. The body of reserve of horse and foot, particularly from Lucca and Pistoia, where he was mayor, had been confided to him: but the general, knowing his natural ferocity and impatience, had forbidden him, under penalty of his head, to accept battle without an express order. In the ardour and confusion of the conflict, it appears the general forgot this body*. Donati stood firm
1289. for some time under the restraint of vigorous

* In the famous battle of Pavia, the Viceroy Lenay forgot to order a considerable body of troops to enter into the fight.—See Robertson's History of Charles V.

orders; but seeing the Florentines upon the eve of being defeated, and that no directions were sent to him, he chose rather to run the risk of being condemned than fail in duty towards his country; and haranguing his troops in bold language, he darted upon the enemy, who, in the ardour and expectation of approaching victory, had suffered his troops to widen their ranks even to excess: this corps not only re-animated the combat, but threw the Aretines into complete disorder. The latter had also a body of reserve, commanded by Count Guido Novello, which they ordered to enter into battle; but this man, who, in the affair near Colle and in other places, had given but little proofs of valour, belied not his character even here, and either thinking affairs lost, or wishing to spare his troops, he abandoned the Aretines, and retired to his castles.

Disheartened by this defection, the Aretines were completely routed: the fierce Bishop Guglielmino, after having borne the character of an excellent general and soldier, chose not to survive his defeat, and died fighting valiantly*. The custom, or rather the abuse of those times, which tolerated the use of arms in ecclesiastics, may serve as some excuse for the bishop†. It cannot be denied that he possessed political and military

* Although brave, the bishop had a great defect as a general, that is, short sight. The shields of the Florentine soldiers had a white ground: he asked what walls are those? He was answered, "the shields of the enemy."—Dino Comp. Cron.

† The abuse was such, that war being made by the pope against the sons of Frederic II., the Archbishop of Mayence refusing to take arms, upon the excuse that they were not fit for a priest, was deprived of the benefit of the church by the pope. *Rer. Magun.* lib. 5.

talents; age had neither broken down his vigour nor his warlike courage *. Arezzo was never greater than under him; he had raised her to a degree of power to strike terror into the republics of Florence and Sienna. Many of the chiefs of the same army, Guglielmo de' Pazzi, with two of his nephews Bonconto of Montefeltro, &c., followed the fate of the bishop†. Various other personages of note were slain, and about 2,000 soldiers, besides prisoners. On the side of the Florentines the number is not mentioned. In this battle, the most sanguinary that had happened in Tuscany since
 1289. that of Monteaperti, the poet Dante fought in the Florentine army, and in his verses, more than once makes mention of the persons who distinguished them-

* He governed the church of Arezzo for forty years: it is to be supposed that he was elected bishop at an age little below thirty, whence when he fought in Campaldino he must have been, at least, in his seventieth year.

† His body could not be found. Dante, who feigns to find his shade in Purgatory (Canto 5) speaks to him thus:

..... qual forza, o qual ventura
 Ti traviò sì fuor di Campaldino
 Che non si seppe mai tua sepoltura?
 Oh, rispos' egli, a piè del Casentino
 Traversa un' acqua, che ha nome l' Archiano,
 Che sovra l' Ermo nasce in Appennino.
 La' ve'l vocabol suo diventa vano,
 Arriva' io, forato nella gola,
 Fuggendo sempre e insanguinando 'l piano.
 Quivi perdei la vista e la parola.....
 Ben sai come nell' aer si raccoglie
 Quell' umido vapor, che in acqua riede,
 Tosto che giunge dove 'l freddo il coglie.....
 Lo Corpo mio gelato in sulla foce
 Trovò l' Archian rubesto; e quel sospinse
 Nell' Arno, e sciolse al mio petto la eroce,
 Ch' io fè di me, quando 'l dolor mi vinse:
 Voltommi per le ripe, a per lo fondo,
 Poi di sua preda mi coperse e cinse.

selves in it *. The conquering army did not choose to leave strong places behind them in the hands of the enemy, and delayed eight days in arriving at Arezzo; a delay which probably prevented them getting possession of that city, which was not only disheartened by this great defeat, but almost laid open, since a considerable part of the walls was wanting. Collecting here what troops survived the battle, and knowing that the general salvation depended upon defending that line of wall, the Aretines speedily filled up, with bars and beams, the piece wanting in the walls, and intrepid alike in the face of attack as in assault, made the most obstinate resistance †. In vain did the Florentines attempt to enter the city, by setting fire to the wooden part of the walls; the aperture was defended with extraordinary valour; and the besieged making a sortie, even burnt the principal machines of war of the enemy, who was obliged to retire ‡.

The city of Florence that had been in the greatest apprehension §, never rejoiced so much for any victory. The army re-entered Florence in triumph; among the other trophies the shield and helmet of Guglielmino were borne in public, and suspended at the supposed temple of Mars, or at St. John's ||, where they remained until the

* Vill. lib. 7. cap. 130. Dino. Comp. Cron. Leonardo Bruni Hist. Fior. lib. 4. Cron. Sanes. Rer. Ital. tom. 15.

† The Florentines, wishing to insult the deceased leader of the Aretines, with the machines used in those times, flung into the city an ass with a mitre on his head.

‡ Vill. Leon. Bruni, lib. 4.

§ The fable of the Priors, who were asleep, awakened by an unknown voice, which announced to them the victory before the advice arrived, sufficiently shows the anxiety in which the city was placed.

|| Bruni His. lib. 3. Guazzesi of the ancient dominion of the bishop of Arezzo, &c.

time of the Grand Duke Cosimo III, who caused an eternal monument of the abuse of arms, which was made by the ecclesiastics, to be removed from the public eye. The greater part of the people went out to meet them in festive attire, together with the ecclesiastics in solemn procession. Although the Aretines defended themselves in the line of their walls, this loss gave a great blow to their power, and was to them what the defeat of Meloria had been to the Pisans. The Florentines attempted, at

various times, both by treachery and arms to
^{1290.} occupy Arezzo, but always in vain. At one time they received secret intelligence, that the gates were to be opened to them. They marched immediately, and had arrived at Civitella, where one of the conspirators having fallen from a precipice, confessed the conspiracy in his dying words to his confessor, who revealed it to Messer Tarlato, and thus it failed*. Count Guido Novello alone paid the penalty of his defection, as the Florentine army occupied and pillaged his estates of Poppi, Castel S. Angelo, Chiazolo, Cietica and Montauto of Val d' Arno. The war was carried on with mutual losses, particularly to the Aretines, whose country was every where laid waste.

Having humbled the power of Arezzo, the Florentines turned their attention towards the Pisans, the allies of the Aretines. The Florentines were joined by the Lucchese and Genoese. Although the Pisans were not sufficiently strong to cope with so many enemies, they

continued to insult them with considerable success,
^{1290.} from the ability of their leader Count Guido of Montefeltro. History presents us only with trifling actions of countries laid waste, and castles taken and

* Vill. lib. 7. c. 137. Bruni, lib. 4.

lost. Amongst these events, the capture of Calcinaia is distinguished by some particular circumstance. This place was occupied by the outlawed Pisans, and particularly by the family Upezzinghi. Count Guido had held a secret correspondence with some persons of the castle. A body of troops having approached it by night, and secretly passing the ditch that surrounded it, began to scale the walls: the partisans within the castle hastened to shut outside the greater part of the doors of the houses, in order that the people of the place might not go out. Walter Upezzinghi, hastening to the defence, was struck by a lance, the castle was taken, and the Upezzinghi led prisoners to Pisa with many other

^{1291.} Guelphs, part of whom were shut up in the Tower of Hunger. The negligence of Walter occasioned this loss and his own death. In the evening preceding it a letter was handed to him, in which he was advised of the conspiracy. He was playing at the royal table, or at chess; put it in his pocket without opening it, and forgot it; it was afterwards found sealed in the pockets ¹²⁹² of the deceased, and the writing served to discover the traitor, who was one of the elders of Pisa, and was in consequence beheaded*.

Whilst the Florentines on one side, and the Lucchese, united with the Genoese, on the other, were attacking the Pisan territory, a Ligurian squadron, led on by Henry of the seas, (*Arrigo de' mari*,) attacked the Pisan port, destroyed the towers, and endeavoured to block up the harbour with boats laden with stone. The enmities

* The letter was without a signature; but, as the treaty was known to these alone, Count Guido, by keeping the letter secret, found a pretext to make all the elders write, and thus discovered the guilty.—*Marang. Cron. di Pisa. Tronci. Ann. Pis.*

between these two rival nations had arrived to such a pitch, that one of the towers being near falling, from being cut at the foundation, and only propped up, the defenders that were shut in it, being advised of it, and receiving a summons to surrender, chose rather to die under the ruins than fall alive into the hands of the enemy*.

The Aretines and Pisans being beaten, and the fear of external enemies having abated in Florence, internal disturbances began anew. The provisions made

1137. by the people in the past revolutions had not been sufficient to restrain the overbearance of the great, the wars in particular that were carried on with their counsel and assistance rendered them daring, as victory made them proud and superior to the laws. Thus it happened at this epoch. They insulted with open insolence, and domineered not only over the lower orders, but even the honest citizens; molested their property, and used violence towards them†. Before them the laws were silent; there was neither criminal or civil judge who dared to call them to account, nor any one who bore testimony against them. Giano della Bella, of the class of the people, being insulted in vulgar terms by Berto Frescobaldi, one of the great, held a council, together with many of the first citizens, in order to deliberate upon the manner of putting a bridle upon them; and it was resolved, that the present was the most opportune moment, when the great were disunited by private enmities. Thus the change was easily executed: such was the power of the people that the great did not dare to

* Ann. Genuens. Rer. Ital. tom. 6. Marang. Cron. Pis. Tronci. Ann. Pis.

† Dino. Comp. Cron. lib. 1. Gio. Vill. loc. cit. Amm.

1293. oppose them. It was determined that the priors should be elected from among the tradesmen who really exercised any trade ; that it was not sufficient to have caused a name to be described in a matricular book : hence the great were deprived of this office. The importance of the reform, however, consisted in the creation of a mayor, or gonfaloniere, whom the priors, by plurality of votes, were to elect from twelve citizens, two for every sixth part. The period of the duration of this magistracy was fixed at two months, so that in the course of the year the office fell by rotation upon every sixth part ; and the priors and the gonfaloniere could not be elected from any one family at the same time*. When necessity required it, the gonfaloniere was to be ready to cause the bell to be rung, and exhibiting the standard or banner formed of white, with a large red cross, assembling a thousand infantry, (which was afterwards increased to four thousand,) he should cause justice to be carried into execution.

Thus by degrees, and almost piece by piece, the Florentine government proceeded in forming itself according as the republic was governed by experience ; hence finally the celebrated magistracy of the priors, with the gonfaloniere at their head. If the reform had 1293. stopped here, it would have been well ; but as hitherto the crimes of the great could be proved with difficulty ; it was therefore ordered that the public voice and report, attested by two witnesses, alone was sufficient to prove it, and that one companion should be held responsible for the other. At the same time two drums were established, one at the palace of the mayor, the other at that of the captain of the people, where it was

* Gio. Vill. Macchiav. Ist. Fior. lib. 2. Bruni. His. Flor. lib. 4.

lawful for any one to attach accusations against the great. The injustice of this law is evident to all persons of common sense. The criminal code is the thermometer of a good or bad legislation,—when well governed and impartially executed, it is the palladium of true liberty, both personal and politic; but this was not to be found in Florence. Hence factious tumults arose so frequently, in order that parties might gain greater strength against the great.

The peace with the Pisans was accelerated by the new government. The following were a few of the
1294. conditions: a mutual restitution of prisoners; the Florentines and their allies to be exonerated from duties in Pisa; the fortifications of Pontedera to be dismantled, and Count Guido obliged to leave Pisa,—whereby the Florentines paid a tacit homage to the valour of the man they feared: to which was added, that the Pisans for some years were not to elect a mayor or ruler, except from the estates of the Florentines or their allies;
1294. finally, that the estates should be restored to the judge of Gallura and the other Guelphs, who were permitted to return to their country*.

With the last change in the Florentine government, the powerful body of the great had received a wound in its most sensible part, as they were not employed, like the rest of the city, in commerce. The lust of command was their idol; and they had been deprived of the means of satisfying it, particularly by the work of Giano della Bella. This man, who was just in his intentions, frank and loyal, was attacked with low machinations and the most vile cabals, the account of which, as given by his friend Compagni, excite disgust. Besides the hatred

* Gio. Vill. lib. 8. cap. 2. Tronci, Marang.

of the great, he had incurred the jealousy and envy of his own order, on account of the authority and consideration he acquired in the last reform : the only persons that were attached to him were the common people, who had often felt the benefit of the protection of the laws ; but this description of people, from their necessities and want of education, is the most changeable.

In a dispute between the followers of Corso Donati and of Simoni of Galastrone an homicide was committed, and many were wounded ; the act was generally attributed to Corso, or to his bullies. A process being made, the attestation of the witnesses was falsified by one of the ministers, and the deceived mayor pardoned Corso. The people would not suffer this, and collecting in numbers hastened to the house of Giano della Bella, author of the reform, and urged him to order it to be carried into execution. Giano sent them back to the gonfaloniere, who held the executive power. The people, in their unreasonable fury, sacked the palace of the mayor, and in the midst of these tumults Corso found an

1295. opportunity of saving himself by concealment.

But the enemies of Giano, who waited for him at every step, took the opportunity of accusing him of tumult, as if he had encouraged the people to sedition, instead of advising them to lay down their arms, made a formal accusation against him. The two parties of the great and the rich among the people, although enemies among themselves, were united in enmity towards him, and prepared to support the accusation by arms. He enjoyed the protection of the humbler classes of the people ; and, although he might have defended himself, Giano did not think fit to have recourse to this dangerous remedy, chose rather to go into voluntary banishment ; and the people, whose defender he had been,

saw him depart indeed with sorrow, but did not stir*. The punishment being confirmed and aggravated by his enemies, and even approved by the pontiff, gave courage to the nobility to resume their ancient condition. Their hopes were increased by seeing a division between the rich citizens, who held the government in their hands,—and who, from the disgrace of Giano, had the humbler classes of the people for their enemies. In the mean time they sent a pacific supplication to the priors, that they might be pleased to annul the provisions made against them; but in order to give them greater weight, they had joined and had given arms to many of their adherent citizens and ruffians. The enraged people then took to arms, and the two parties, ready to engage, were already in front of each other, when some of the more prudent citizens interfered to appease them, nor could the great obtain other conditions than that the witnesses in the accusations against them were to be three instead of two; a trifling remedy, which was also afterwards annulled †.

* Dino. Comp. Cron. lib. 1. Giov. Vill. lib. 8. cap. 8.

† Giov. Vill. lib. 8. cap. 12. Ammir. lib. 4. Macchiav. Ist. lib. 2. This tumult might have been doubted from not being spoken of by Dino Campagni, who lived and was among the actors; but his chronicle, however true and even minute, sometimes leaves out facts.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ERECTION OF MAGNIFICENT EDIFICES IN FLORENCE.—
THIRD ENCLOSURE OF WALLS.—SUPERIORITY OF THE
FLORENTINES IN COMMERCE AND LETTERS.—FACTION
OF THE BIANCHI AND THE NERI IN PISTOIA.—PISTOIA
SURRENDERS TO THE FLORENTINES.—THE Ghibellines
JOIN THE BIANCHI, THE GUELPHS THE NERI.—ENTRANCE
OF CHARLES OF VALOIS INTO FLORENCE.—POWER GIVEN
HIM TO REFORM THE GOVERNMENT.—EXILE OF THE
BIANCHI.—ROBERT, DUKE OF CALABRIA, IS CALLED BY
THE GUELPHS TO FLORENCE.—DEATH OF CORSO DONATI.
—DISTURBANCES IN THE OTHER REPUBLICS OF TUS-
CANY.—DESCENT OF THE EMPEROR HENRY VII. UPON
ITALY.—ARRIVES AT PISA.—GOES TO ROME; WHENCE
HE MARCHES TOWARDS FLORENCE.—RAISES HIS CAMP,
AND DIES AT BUON CONVENTO.—ORIGIN OF UGUCCIONE
OF THE BEECH-TREE (DELLA FAGGIOLA.)—MAKES HIM-
SELF MASTER OF LUCCA.—BATTLE OF MONTE CATINI.—
PRINCIPLES OF CASTRUCCIO, WHO IS ARRESTED BY THE
SON OF UGUCCIONE; LIBERATED BY THE PEOPLE, AND
DECLARED LORD OF LUCCA.

THE seditions which were so frequent in the Florentine
republic, arose from her excessive prosperity and
1995. riches, like the return of repeated diseases to
a body which is too vigorous and plethoric. Although
a people despondent from the effects of extreme misery,
and broken down under a government of iron, may be
excited to rebellion in the frenzy of despair; still this
happens but rarely, and only when they are goaded
with exorbitant taxes and impositions; whilst power
and riches, that render pride their usual attendant,
so very irritable, find a motive for discontent in the
smallest circumstance, and keep men constantly prepared
for seditious movements.

Such were the causes of the Florentine tumults, as pointed out by cotemporary historians*. That this republic, in spite of the civil tempests with which she was agitated, was in a flourishing condition of opulence, power, and increasing prosperity, may be deduced from the few facts we shall now mention,—as well as from the proofs that will be given hereafter, in elucidating the history of her commerce. A mercantile and parsimonious republic does not employ herself upon great and ornamental expenses, unless she be very rich. In the course of a few years many sumptuous edifices had been erected, and generosity appeared to go hand in hand with religious charity in embellishing Florence. Shortly before, in the year 1288, a Florentine citizen, better known on account of his daughter Beatrice, who is divinized by Dante, than by the pious and useful work he began, Falco Portinari, founded the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, one of the most useful establishments of Tuscany, and the first in its kind. Five years afterwards the genius of Calimala was employed in
 1295. adorning the temple of St. John with white and black marble; in the preceding year, in the month of May, on the day of the Holy Cross, the church of this name was begun with that magnificence which we now admire; and in September, in the place where the church of Santa Reparata stood, a beginning was made, with all possible splendour, of the superb cathedral of the Holy Mary of the Flower, (Santa Maria del Fiore,) and the foundation laid for carrying on the edifice. Nor were the pious edifices, to which merchants voluntarily devoted a part of their gains, the only object of the Florentines; in order still more to secure the republic from the aggressions of some feudal lords, and

* Dino. Comp. Cron. Gio. Vill. Ist. in various places.

particularly of the Pazzi and the Ubaldini, who reigned in the upper Valley of the Arno, (Val d' Arno,) they built two castles, peopled them, and gave privileges to the inhabitants: these were St. John, upon the left bank of the Arno, and Castelfranco upon the right. The signiory also, which had now so much increased in power and riches, considered themselves entitled to a more dignified place of assembly than what the private house of the family of the Cerchi, where they had hitherto met, afforded: they consequently commenced the magnificent Palace of the Priors, now called the Old Palace (Palazzo Vecchio,) under the direction of one of the restorers of architecture, Arnolfo di Lapo. Public animosities interfered with the design, which they chose rather should be irregular, than the building should stand upon Ghibelline ground, which had now become infamous and accursed; ^{1298.} nor were the professional remonstrances of the architect at all attended to; consequently, the houses of the Uberti family, and others of the same faction, which were already demolished, made room for the spacious square. Finally, the third line of walls was began with all possible ecclesiastical and secular pomp; the three bishops, of Florence, of Fiesole, and Pistoia, assisted in giving their benediction to the first stone, with many other prelates, the signiory, all the other orders of the city, and an immense concourse of people. Private individuals too had begun to cover the neighbouring hills with numerous and delightful villas *.

* See Dante,—

Non era vinto ancora Montemalo
Dal vostro Uccellatoio, &c.

The Aviary is a place upon the Old Bologna road, whence a pretty prospect is had of the neighbourhood of Florence, as from Monte Mario of Rome,—a prospect which, in the times of Dante, was exceeded by that of Florence. Dante wrote exactly at this time,

The Florentines at this epoch surpassed all other people, not only in commerce, but in letters and political affairs. In literature, it is sufficient to mention Brunetto Latini, Guido Cavalcanti, and, above all,

^{1299.} Dante, so superior to his age, not only in poetry,

but in every other science. The political talents of the Florentines are proved by a single event which occurred in this year, when the solemn jubilee was instituted by Boniface VIII. This pontiff imparted the spiritual treasures, not only to the Romans, but to all the faithful who came to visit the sepulchres of the Apostles Peter and Paul. The novelty of the devotion attracted an innumerable host of pilgrims to Rome; and an ocular witness asserts, there were above 200,000 foreigners every day in the city*, who failed not in affording great profit to the inhabitants. Sovereigns sent ambassadors to compliment the pope, and to receive for them the spiritual grace. Among the rest, twelve Florentine ambassadors, from twelve different princes, appeared before his Holiness, which made the astonished pontiff exclaim, that the Florentines, in human affairs,

^{1300.} were the fifth element,—a fact truly singular, and exhibited in a large picture of the palace Strozzi (Casa Strozzi) which represents the whole embassy†.

or at least was now contemplating so fine a prospect, of which he was soon deprived for the rest of his life, being sent away two years afterwards an exile.

* Gio. Vill. lib. 8. c. 36. One thousand pounds of silver a day were offered. Ptol. Lucensis Rer. Ital. tom. 1.; to which may be added the testimony of Guglielmo Ventura, of Asti: de Roma, in Virgilia Nativitatis Christi, vidi turbam magnam, quam nemo dinumerare poterat. . . . Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab iisdem recepit, quia die ac nocte duo clerici stabant ad altare S. Petri tenentes in eorum manibus rastellos rastellantes pecuniam infinitam. Chron. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. 2. Mur. Diss. 68.

† See the series of portraits of illustrious Tuscans, tom. 1., where,

So brilliant a figure did the Florentine republic make in a few years of peace; but it was her excessive vigour which prepared her for new disease. The power of various families, either noble, or citizens, together with the desire of mutually surpassing each other, become manifest upon every occasion, a proof that the volcano was not far from an eruption, when a new fatal discord arose in the neighbouring city of Pistoia. The blood-thirsty factions, in which the history of these times abounds, are the disgrace of Italy; since we rarely discover therein that generosity and valour, which make even enemies esteem and admire each other. They rarely fought with open arms, but for the most part, by snares and treachery; nor one enemy seek to revenge himself against his real foe; in order to give vent to his sanguinary rage, the father, the sons, and the relations of the offender, were quite sufficient, who were barbarously massacred, without
 1300. any other crime than that of consanguinity. A short history of the sanguinary division of Pistoia, will give some idea of the cruel temper of these factions.

There lived in this city a rich and very powerful family, descended from a certain Ser Cancelliere, from whom they had taken the name of Chancellors (Cancellieri). From two wives this man received a very numerous progeny; which divided the family into two branches, and continued increasing; and as there were no other families of a rank sufficient to dispute with them the supremacy, the two branches became, from jealousy of power, rivals to each other; the one was called of the White Chancellors (Cancellieri Bianchi), the other of the Black (Neri). The individuals of these two families were more

in the beginning, the print of the picture is given. In one of the four great pictures in the saloon of the Palazzo Vecchio, there is the same representation from the pen of Ligozzi.

than one hundred in number, and reckoned eighteen chevaliers or knights of the golden spur. This emulation had been long fomenting without coming to open hostilities ; but when the combustible matters are once prepared, every spark is sufficient to create an explosion. Some young men of the Bianchi and the Neri party, having drank to excess in a wine cellar quarrelled ; when one of the most respectable of the Neri party, called Dore of the family of Mr. William (Messer Guglielmo), was struck by one young Charles Walfred, (Carlino di Messer Gualfredi) one of the first of the Bianchi party. Dore, seeing himself the weakest, did not dare to return the blow as the other was accompanied by his brothers, but having prepared himself in the evening for revenge, and seeing Vanni, brother of Carlino, pass by, he called him to him ; who, being ignorant of what had happened,

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approached Dore without the least suspicion, when the latter immediately gave him a blow with his sword upon the head ; in endeavouring to ward off, which, Vanni had his hand cut in such a manner, that his great finger alone remained hanging upon it, and his face was much cut at the same time. This aggression roused the resentment of his family, who prepared immediately for revenge ; when the father of Dore and his brothers, seeing the fatal consequences of what he had done, endeavoured to appease the offended party by a tone of humility, and placed the offender in their hands. Dore was sent therefore to the house of Wilfred, in hopes that the pardon he would ask, and this act of humiliation would awaken the generosity, and cool the anger of the offended family : but, instead of being satisfied, they laid hands upon the young man, and taking him into a stable, cut off the hand upon a manger, with which he had wounded Vanni, disfigured his face, and

thus ill-treated, sent him home*. These atrocities roused both sides to arms and blood; and the whole
 1300. city and vicinity became divided between the two parties. Hardly a day passed without citizens coming to blows, and many barbarous murders were committed in that ill-fated town, some of which we will take notice of. During one of these civil contests, a stone had been thrown from the house of Pecoroni, upon the head of a Pistoiese gentleman who was fighting, named M. Detto, (Messer Detto), who was somewhat stunned by the blow: his nephew, Mr. Simone, (Messer Simone), without knowing who had thrown the stone, observing a person of that house called Pero, going to the palace of the mayor, hastened with a whole brigade of bullies to the palace, and in the presence of the mayor and his family,

* This fact being differently related by various historians, I have thought proper to follow the chronicle, entitled: "Istoria Pistoiese," as it appears that the historian was alive, and present at many of the events which he relates with so minute a detail and candour. Ferrato of Vicenza, (Rer. Ital. tom. 9.), who at the time of the event must have been a boy, adds, that from two brothers, one of white hair, and the other of black, the families took the names of Neri and Bianchi, whilst others say, that of the two wives of Ser Cancelliere, one was named Bianca, the other Nera. All this is of little import: what, however, appears certain against the assertion of Villani and all the Florentine historians is, that the factions of Bianchi and Neri did not begin in this year, but had already began some years ago. The Pistoiese historians attest it, who suppose them existing in the beginning of the history, and Tolomeo Lucchese, who, in the year 1295, says: "Item in gestis Lucentium inveni hic incepisse ferventem discordiam Cancellariorum de Pistorio ut nominarentur Albi et Nigri quod nomen fermentavit Florentiæ et Lucæ, et ex quo nomine utrobique exorta sunt multa mala et adhuc perseverant." Ptol. Lucem. Ann. Rer. Ital. t. 1. It appears, however, that the vulcano, already on flame, made this year another terrible eruption. Ciampi, Accounts, not edited, of the Pistoiese Sagresty, &c. page 56.

murdered the supposed culprit, and departed with impunity. This insult to the administrator of justice was not the only one; for his own family having thought proper to protect a person who had been assaulted in the palace, were insulted, wounded, and some of them killed; and becoming himself an object of persecution, he threw the baton of the signiory upon the ground, and left the palace. The humane reader becomes horror-struck in running over the enormous atrocities mentioned by the historian, which were carried into execution for the most part by tricks and treachery. The horror increases the more when we reflect that, even when the insulted majesty of the laws could exercise its power, the culprits were only sentenced to a fine or a short confinement; a punishment too which was rarely observed*. Amongst these two furious sects, there were a few moderate persons, called on that account, the grave (*posati*), who, seeing the city and country going to ruin, in those lucid intervals which discover one solitary flash of reason, persuaded the greater party to offer the government of the city to the Florentines, in order that the latter might regulate it. The Florentines were desirous enough of putting an end to the growing discords, and taking the government of the city into their hands, with the consent of the Pistoiese, they removed many of the guilty, and exiled them to Florence. But these persons introduced there the poison of discord, which, meeting with minds sufficiently disposed to receive it, worked only with greater effect. As the seeds of dissension still existed in Florence, between two powerful families, Cerchi and Donati†, it was sufficient that the party Neri was sup-

* Istor. Pistol. Rer. Ital. tom. 11.

† Whoever wishes to see the detail of the pernicious effects produced in Florence by these divisions, and the disturbance and

ported by the Donati, in order that the Cerchi might join the Bianchi, and, like a new disease in the human body, which increases the old ones which have been badly cured, so the Guelphan and Ghibelline parties were roused anew by the Bianchi joining the latter, and the Neri the Guelphs. Various sanguinary rencontres took place in the city. The pontiff endeavoured in vain to appease the factions; first by calling to Rome Vieri de' Cerchi a powerful citizen; who, with an obstinacy not expected by the pontiff, refused to make

1300. peace with Corso; and afterwards by sending to Florence the Cardinal d'Acqua Sparta as legate, who found no obstacles to making the peace he designed, but thinking it necessary that the discretion of reforming the city should be left to him, the Bianchi or Ghibelline faction which had the principal share in the government, fearing to lose it, would not consent; on the contrary, the disinclination of the cardinal towards the Cerchi being made known, an arrow was shot at him whilst he was standing at a window of the bishop's house, which remained fixed in the wall*. The cardinal at last took his departure in anger, but left the city under interdict.

The Bianchi party, on account of its riches and con-

little security of the citizens, the irregularity of judgments, &c., may read the chronicle of Dino Compagni, who lived in that age, who occupied the first offices, and who might have said:

. quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui.

* Being very angry, the Florentines, in order to appease him, presented him with 1,300 new florins, and "I (says Compagni,) took them to him in a cup of silver, and I said, My Lord, do not disdain them on account of there being few, because without public counsel we cannot give more money." He answered, they were dear to him, looked much at them, and would not have them. Dino Comp. Cron. lib. 1.

nexion with the family of the Cerchi, was now become the most powerful; and its influence extended even over the unfortunate Pistoia, where governors being sent, instead of uniting the citizens, began to persecute the Neri with open violence, attacking them in the streets, in the houses, in their fortresses, both with sword and fire, and obliged them finally to fly, and seek shelter elsewhere.

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Even in Florence the Bianchi prevailed to an extent, that many of the first citizens were about to leave it; and among the rest Corso Donati. The influence of the most powerful city of Tuscany operated upon the rest, and the party Bianchi, amalgamated with the Ghibelline, was becoming the ruling one; when Corso Donati went to meet the pontiff and the Cardinal of Acqua Sparta, and shewed them the danger of suffering the Bianca or Ghibelline faction, the ancient enemy of the pontiffs, to increase and spread itself through the whole of Tuscany.

Boniface VIII. was now on the pontifical throne. This pontiff was ambitious of surpassing kings, republics, and nations, and ready to embrace whatever party could best increase his secular power*. He was pleased with the reasons of Corso, and having called Charles of Valois into Italy, in order to take Sicily from King Frederic, he secretly concerted with him the ruin of the Bianchi party. The ambassadors of the latter being sent to Rome, the pontiff persuaded them to leave the differences to him; and they readily confided them to the father of the faithful. He ordered Charles to be declared by both parties pacificator of Florence; but, in fact, he was commissioned to give the Neri the preponderance. The chiefs of the Bianchi

* See Dante *Inferno*, Canto 191, and the character that he often draws of him.

possessed much good faith, a virtue very praise-worthy among private persons, but not always commendable in political affairs; since it is frequently sacrificed to artifice, which, when it succeeds in its ends, is always approved, and the former becomes despised *. Charles approached Florence, accompanied by an escort of five hundred, or at most eight hundred, horse, with the addition of a great number of outlaws, and lovers of novelty. The citizens deliberated whether entrance should be granted him: it was not difficult for the Bianchi, both from the numerous companions which had joined him, all of whom were their enemies, and from the eagerness for his arrival, which the contrary faction evinced, to foresee that Charles was coming to destroy them: the government, too by one vigorous act, could have prevented him; since by refusing to receive him, by taking up arms and fortifying Poggibonsi, when Charles was at Sienna, he would not have risked an advance, as he had no force to confront the Florentines. Nothing is more dangerous than weakness in times of faction: the government had not courage to oppose him, to make an enemy of the house of France, and to encounter the greater enmity of the pontiff. He was therefore received, and power given him to reform the government †. Corso

* Dino Compagni, himself an actor in this scene as one of the lords, discovers himself from his chronicle to have been made more for a missionary than a statesman; and, in fact, besides the many homilies made to the citizens, the beginning of the second book is a piece of sacred declamation: "Rise up, ye wicked citizens, full of scandal, and take the sword and fire in your hands, and extend your malice," &c.

† Villani, who is followed by all, says that Charles entered Florence on the day of Ognisanti: Compagni, present too on the 4th of November, adds a curious circumstance, and that he was only entreated (being at the end of October) not to enter Florence

Donati appeared at the same time with many followers, and entered the city by forcing the gates; many others joined him from the people, who are always inconstant; he ordered the gates of the prisons to be forced open; went to the palace, and discharged the mayor and priors; assailed the Bianchi with their partisans, killed many of them, and pillaged their houses and shops; the French standing by, as spectators, and even as abettors of such cruelties, which were continued six days.

1301. The Neri party, now victorious, made themselves masters of the government, and sent many into exile. The pontiff, who alone wanted the change of government, but had not advised these violences, blaming both Charles of Valois and Corso Donati, sent the Cardinal of Acqua Sparta again to Florence, who was little attended to, and took revenge in the usual ecclesiastical manner by placing the city under interdict. Even relations respected each other so little, that the son of Corso Donati, being on horseback on Christmas-day, hearing a sermon in the square of the the Holy Cross,

the day of Ognisanti, "because the lower class of people on such days make merry with new wine, and great scandal they would have incurred." *Dino Comp. Cron. lib. 2.* Another circumstance is, that not only the council, but all the trades being interrogated whether Charles was to be received, all were for yes, "except the bakers, who said that he neither ought to be received nor honoured, because he came to destroy the city." See the same *loc. cit.* The date of the entrance is of very little consequence, but the wise reader can only infer from it how easy it is to alter circumstances by the most accredited historians as were Villani and Compagni, both present at the arrival of Charles, and who had no interest to fix it more in one day than another: if it was of importance to establish that date, the authority of Compagni might be preferred, who was among the Signiors of the government, both by the curious circumstance of the wines and because he wrote day by day.

(Santa Croce), and seeing Nicholas of the Cerchi family, (Niccola de' Cerchi), his uncle pass by, ran after him out of the gates of Florence, joined him at the bridge of Africo, where a contest ensuing between them and their partisans, both the uncle and nephew were killed. All was now disorder and confusion. Charles, who favoured and had restored the Neri party, wishing to appear neutral, persecuted the unfortunate Bianchi under the pretext of conspiracy and crimes. Many of the richest citizens were frequently arrested in their habitations, and made to pay a large ransom, if they wished to be set at liberty: the houses of others, who had betaken themselves to a place of safety, were burnt; domiciliary visits were made at night with all possible rigour, and so great was the anxiety of making discoveries, that even the straw mattresses were perforated with steel. Finally, on the second of April, what still remained of the Bianchi party were exiled, and among the rest two celebrated names, viz., Dante, at that time ambassador to the pope; and Petracco of Parengo, the father of the celebrated Petrarch, who retired to Arezzo, where that illustrious poet, his son, was born. It would appear that the innocent mediocrity of talent of Compagni, was the cause of his being forgotten in this general shipwreck of the Bianchi party.

After this cruel dose, Charles departed, thinking he had sufficiently regulated affairs. The greater part of the Bianchi being now expelled, it might have been expected that the atrocious executions and murders which were continually taking place under the most trifling pretexts, would have ceased; but a letter of Gherardino Diodoti, who had taken refuge in Pisa, to his companions, in which he gave them hopes of the return of the exiles, was sufficient to cause the arrest and decapitation of two of his nephews, together with others; nor could the

wretched mother, who, with dishevelled hair, threw herself in the public street at the feet of the mayor, obtain any thing but deceitful words*. Messer Donat Alberti was taken with arms in his hand, and having
 1302. been brought to Florence upon an ass, was drawn up by a rope and left to hang; all the windows and doors of the palace were opened in order that the people might enjoy the cruel spectacle, and finally, as if it were an act of mercy, the mayor obtained permission to order his head to be taken off, and thus terminate in death the cruelties and insults used towards him †. Only a very small part, however, of such excesses are mentioned here. This was the peace made in Florence by Charles de Valois, who had been invited there by Boniface VIII. as pacificator. That prince was a descendant of the holy king Louis, whom a few years before the same pontiff had canonized, and whom the devout historian of the atrocious revolution piously and uselessly invokes‡. The expelled Bianchi or Ghibellines wandered in search of a place of refuge through the cities where their party most prevailed, and where they might at least be tolerated: Pistoia, Arezzo, Bologna, Pisa, and many other cities sheltered them. The greater part of the gentlemen of the country being Ghibellines the exiles easily joined them, and with the assistance of the above-mentioned cities, began a disastrous war, of trivial, but sanguinary, actions, such as stabbing, burning, laying waste, and pillaging. Sienna
 1302. alone prudently remained neutral; but in times of factions, prudence becomes a crime, and the

* Dino. Comp. Cron. lib. 2.

† Dino. Comp. loc. cit.

‡ "Oh good King Louis who so much feared God! where is the faith of the royal house of France?" &c. Dino. Comp. loc. cit.

enraged factions of the two parties called Lupa a strumpet*.

In the mean time the Neri, or Guelphs, were masters of the government of Florence, and the great who were respected and feared, had acquired considerable influence; although they had not been able to annul

1303. the law, which excluded them from the government. Among the principal were the families of

Buondelmonti, the Pazzi, the Spini, but particularly Corso Donati, who, having taken the first part in the revolution, wished to assume it also in the government. Ever restless and impatient of novelty, and surrounded by worthless people, who were fed at his table, he was more like a lord of a castle than a citizen of a republic.

Discontented with the rulers and with the government,

1304. he tried every means to excite tumults, and probably entertained loftier views. Affecting

integrity, and the anxiety that the public should not be defrauded, he pretended that an account should be given of a large sum of money employed in the purchase of grain, at the time of a dearth which had afflicted Florence. The Gonfaloniere resisted with many great citizens, either because fraud had really been used, which would have been discovered, or because the demand appeared to them an insult; or angry, probably,

1304. that this turbulent man should every moment find motives for disturbing the peace of the city.

Corso had the dexterity to draw over to his party the Bishop of Florence, Tosinghi, an eloquent and clever man, and who brought with him greater respect to that party. The country was again divided into two factions: people took to arms and fortified themselves

* Dino. Comp. loc. cit.

in the houses and streets; the public palace, and even the bishop's house, presented the appearance of two fortresses. The new priors and gonfaloniere unable to restore calm, invited the Lucchese as their friends to be pacificators, who accepted the invitation, and a deputation from them came to Florence with many armed men; they held the government in their hands, and were for some days masters of Florence. They ordered arms to be laid down; commanded that a general veil of oblivion should be thrown over past injuries, and left the city in momentary tranquillity. In order to render this more permanent, the pontiff, Benedict XI., with better intentions than Boniface, and secretly instigated by the Bianchi, who still in small numbers remained masked in Florence, sent there the Cardinal of Prato. He was of a family of Bianchi Ghibelline; hence he either began to favour it from party inclination, or really saw the advantage the city would derive from receiving again the outlaws; he saw that a great part of the people would be easily persuaded to it, since laying aside the names of Bianchi and Neri, Ghibelline or Guelph, he had perceived, that, in the last factious attempts of Corso, the party of the Neri wished to oppress the citizens, and perhaps drive them from the government. The cardinal seeing his design favoured by not a few, and persuading many to it by his intrigues and affected eloquence, commenced a treaty, and some deputies of the Bianchi were already arrived in Florence to confer with him, when the contrary party, perceiving their imminent ruin, thought of preventing it by a fraud. Having counterfeited the seals of the cardinal, letters were written in his name in which the heads of the Bianchi faction were invited to hasten as speedily to Florence as possible, with as many armed people as they could

obtain. These letters they feigned to have been intercepted, which upon being read in public, excited indignation and hatred against the cardinal; who, in order to avoid the first movements of a tumult, was advised to go to Prato, his native country; where he was not more successful in procuring the restoration of the Bianchi: hence, highly incensed at the Florentines, he finally departed*.

The city was now involved in civil discord, and returned to arms, when the heads of the Neri party wishing particularly to ruin the Cavalcanti, the
 1304. most powerful of the Bianchi party who were in Florence, threw a firework upon their houses and shops situated near the New Market, (Mercato Nuovo), which taking fire, and communicating with the neighbourhood, the damage done was immense†; that part of the city being the richest in mercantile warehouses: the unfortunate proprietors, and the public force, alike unable to extinguish the conflagration, became spectators of the common ruin. The tumult of the city, the cries of the miserable, the thieves who

* The history of the falsification of the seals is mentioned by Giov. Villani, although Compagni does not mention it; both these historians were in Florence.

† It appears that they availed themselves of a kind of Grecian fire (see cap. 1. del lib. 3.) since it was thrown "Di mercato vecchio si saettò fuoco in Calimala." Dino Compagni Cron. lib. 3. Gio. Vil. lib. 8., &c. 71., asserts that the fire extended itself so much that of palaces and towers more than 1,700 were burnt, and that the best and most important part of the city was destroyed. That mixtures of such fire were known at that time is shewn in a tale of Francesco Sacchetti. Compagni adds, that the fire was worked in Ognissanti, that Ser Neri Abati, Prior of S. Piero Scheraggio, who was one of the first actors in this infamy, carried it in a pot which was of such a kind, that when it fell on the ground it left a blue colour.

risked every thing in order to plunder with impunity, formed one of the most melancholy spectacles. When the fire was over, many of the richest citizens found themselves plunged into the greatest misery.

In the mean time, the favour the Cardinal of Prato entertained towards the Bianchi, a favour which had been strengthened by the unbending pertinacity of the contrary party, urged him to attempt the restoration of the former to Florence, either by stratagem or force. Having exasperated the Roman court against the Neri by an exaggerated account of the events that had taken place, he induced the pope, who was at Perugia, to call together their most powerful and able heads, in order to treat for the tranquillity of Florence*. They obeyed the call; and among the rest was Corso Donati; when the cardinal gave the outlaws secretly to understand that it was time for them to enter their own country by force, whilst the adverse party was deprived of its most valiant defenders. The outlaws did not neglect the opportunity, and if they had been guided by courage and judgment, the blow would have been struck. Joining from all parts, they advanced towards Florence, in number of 1,600 horse and 9,000 foot, and were already arrived at the Lastra above Montughi, before any tidings of their approach had reached Florence: hence, if they had profited of the dismay and confusion which surprise created, and had attacked the city without loss of time, victory would have been certain. But having delayed a night in order to wait for further succours, penetrating into the town that had given

* Thus says Villani. Compagni says that they moved spontaneously to excuse themselves of the pope for the conflagration that had happened: but the former appears better informed of the secret springs of government.

orders for defence, they encamped in a place where they were without water, instead of occupying a bank of the Arno; fought with little energy and retired at the first onset; whilst the Bolognese, too, instead of advancing to their succour, retired panic-struck, at the news of the first ill success; and the blow failed. Here to must be added the want of union in action of so many corps that were to come from various parts, and that not attacking Florence on the appointed day, their secret correspondents in the city would not stir: the assailants were driven back, leaving many unhappy victims to the fury of the enraged and victorious party*. The latter then carried their arms against some castles attached to the enemy, among which may be noted the Castle of Stinche de' Cavalcanti, situated in Val di Greve, because after a short defence, the inhabitants having surrendered, and being brought to Florence, were shut up in the new prisons built near St. Simone, upon the ground of the Uberti, and thus gave them the
 1305. name of *Stinche* †. The Neri party, in spite of the victory, discovered with sorrow, that the Bianchi were still very powerful in Tuscany since Pistoia, Pisa, Arezzo, and Bologna favoured them: wishing to make war against them, they sought for a captain of name and authority, and invited Robert, Duke of Calabria, son of King Charles. This prince arrived, and the command was given him of the Florentine troops joined with the Lucchese. The siege of Pistoia was now carried on with the greatest vigour, and the citizens defended themselves with a courage that disheartened the enemy. The pontiff, Clement V., who, as Father of

* Gio. Vill. lib. 8. c. 72. Dino Comp. Cron. lib. 3. Both these writers were present at the fact. Ammir. cit. lib. 4.

† Gio. Vill. lib. 8. c. 75.

Peace wished to put an end to this war, which had arisen from the enmities of parties, sent two cardinals, who endeavoured, first by entreaty, and afterwards by threats, to reconcile minds; but all was in vain,
1306. and they departed, excommunicating those who did not obey them. The Duke of Calabria alone, who had reasons for not disgusting the pope departed, leaving there, however, all his people. The Pistoiese defended themselves bravely from the month of April until the 10th of Jan., and did not surrender until they had suffered all the horrors of famine*. They capitulated upon the most favourable conditions: the place was to remain free; the buildings and fortifications were to be left untouched: terms that the Florentines offered them, knowing that Napoleone Orsini, Cardinal Legate, was coming, who would have declared that the city belonged to the church: the conditions, however, were not observed.

The pope, seeing his spiritual arms against Florence ineffectual, wished to try his temporal ones by sending the legate to make war against them, but these proved equally vain, and the legate put an end to his temporal war with little honour, again having recourse to his spiritual arms, and excommunicating Florence. It would appear that the city could not remain tranquil, and few years passed without civil discords: we must, therefore,
1307. conclude the political constitution to have been defective; and even had the universal epidemy of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, of the Bianchi and Neri, not existed, it would have been divided, as it had been

* Dino Comp. Cron. lib. 3. Gio. Vill. lib. 8. c. 82. The former says, that when they surrendered they had only victuals for one day, and that some days before they had sent away the useless mouths, women, old men, and children.

before by the Uberti. The powerful wished to get the government into their hands to the exclusion of the people, and this they would have easily done, since the people who are employed in mechanical arts, or commerce, have little time to apply themselves to the arts of government, and for the most part suffer themselves quietly to be ruled when not oppressed. But an eagerness to occupy the first offices of the state, divided the minds of the first citizens, and factions arose between them,

in which the innocent were drawn in with them; ^{1308.} besides which, they either considered it right, or wished that their liberty should consist in being superior to the laws, and united in a faction, disturbed the execution of them to a degree that the captains and the mayors of Florence had neither courage or power to keep them in awe*. Nothing exasperates the people more, or is capable of driving them to rebellion, than such violence. Amongst the overbearing citizens, Corso Donati was always conspicuous, nor could so ambitious a disposition be contented with republican equality. It was thought he aspired to become tyrant over the republic: the new ties of kindred with Uguccione of the beech-tree (della Faggiola) and his secret alliance with him rendered him suspicious; suspicions which were encouraged by his manner of living; whereby he aimed at gaining the

* A few years before the mayor had caused to be arrested Talano de' Caviciulli for a crime. The mayor returning from the house of the priors was assaulted by the parents and companions of Talano, was badly wounded by them, and the culprit was liberated, whence the angry mayor abandoned his charge, and returned to his country. Giov. Vill. lib. 8. c. 73. See Dino Compagni, who in the end of his Chronicle says, *In questa Città . . . gli uomini vi si uccidono, il male per legge non si punisce, ma come il malfattore ha degli amici, e può moneta spendere, è liberato dal maleficio.*

dispositions of the most daring and notorious characters, by entertaining them at his house and table, and appearing on horseback with them in public. He was accused ; but his boldness being dreaded, as well as the force he could have collected, if lawful time had been given him to answer the accusation, the government, being his enemy, passed over all forms ; and as he did not appear
 1308. an hour afterwards, condemned him as a rebel, and, without loss of time, marched the public force against him. In spite of the gout with which he was afflicted, he defended himself with his followers, in the streets and houses, with the most obstinate valour, and exposed the city to great danger. The magistracy, however, supported not only by the people, but by the foreign troops that were there, attacked him on every side, and finally overpowered him. He retreated without the gate of Santa Croce, seeking safety ; but was overtaken by his enemies, and killed near S. Salvi, and buried in that church.

Thus died a man who was at once the support, and the terror of his country : courageous and eloquent, he was equally able in council as in the field ; qualities, which were adorned by a noble and courtly demeanour.

All the small republics of Tuscany suffered from the same agitations, whether of the Guelphan or Ghibelline, the Bianchi or the Neri, parties ; whether the nobles or the people had the ascendancy, they could not live tranquil. At San Miniato, the Margiadori and the Malpigli, having collected their forces, fought and beat the
 1309. people, and took the government from them. In Prato the Bianchi drove out the Neri, but were themselves expelled the day following ; the Volterrans and the S. Geminianesi mutually laid waste their territories, and were afterwards restored to tranquillity by

the Florentines. Arezzo had, for some time, been governed by the Tarlati, who, as feudal lords, and therefore Ghibelline or Bianchi, had driven out the Guelphs or Neri party, and had become enemies to the Florentines. In the foregoing year the Tarlati were expelled, and had made peace with the Florentines, filling the employments in common with the citizens, without privilege of name, and the ruling party was called the *Green* party; but that ray of sense lasted but for a short time; in the present year the Tarlati returned, expelled the

1310. Guelphs, and began the war anew with the Florentines, who laid waste the Aretine country. In the following year a more serious affair took place between them, the Aretines had attacked the city of Castello, which demanded aid from the Florentines: they marched there hastily with 6,000 men shortly before joined by the Catalan bands, led on by the quarter-master of King Robert of Naples. Passing the Aretine territory, these troops extended themselves imprudently under Cortona, in a difficult passage where the Aretines, led on by Ugucione della Faggiola, waited for them; a captain,

1310. who was one day destined to be so terrible to the Florentine republic; but his soldiers and the Aretines themselves did not display their accustomed valour. The Florentines, who would have been, for the most part, massacred or taken, drove the enemy back with great slaughter; and among the rest, Vanni Tarlati, one of the first of the Aretine government, was slain.

In the mean time fame resounded that the new emperor, Henry VII, was preparing a descent upon Italy. It was a long time since so great a luminary, which had been the forerunner at all times of novelty and revolutions, had appeared in the horizon of Italy; and in the mean time, her political constitution had been

greatly changed. The Lombard league no longer existed; which had been able to crush the power of one of the most formidable emperors, and constrain him to acknowledge their independence. This confederacy, so advantageous to Italy, and so well adapted to repel the invasion of foreigners, had been dissolved in the fury of factions; and Italy, particularly Lombardy, at this moment, instead of those vigorous and energetic republics, which had resisted the house of Suabia by their union, presented only one sanguinary theatre of civil war. Guido della Torre governed cruelly in Milan, from whence he had driven Maffeo Visconte; Simone of Colubiano in Vercelli and Novara; Alberto Scotto in Plaisance; the Count Filippone, in Pavia; the Passerini, in Mantua; in Parma, the Lords of Correggio; in Como, Martino Lavetario; Alboin della Scala in Verona; in Rovigo Ricciardo di Camino; in Brescia, Maffeo de' Maggi. Cremona, ruled by a turbulent alternative government, was at times governed by the nobles, at times by the common people; Lodi and Crema by Anthony of Fixaratico; Modena and Reggio by the Ghiberti. Bologna was free; Ferrara, which had been snatched from the hands of the Venetians, and given over to those of the house D' Este, was recovered by the legate of the pope, and held in vice royalty by King Robert. All these princes, who trembled in their little states, must have dreaded such an arrival; and common interest should have dictated to them to join in one compact, and boldly oppose his passage: but they hated each other still more, than they feared the emperor. In Tuscany, Pisa, and Arezzo alone desired his arrival. Pisa, which was always devoted to the imperial faction, hoped to aggrandize herself upon the ruin of the Florentines, who had proudly treated the ambassadors of Cæsar;

in order, therefore, to clear the road for him, he made them pay 40,000 florins of gold, and promise him more upon his arrival. Sienna continued in alliance with

1310. Florence, and decided upon not permitting the emperor to enter the city, and would not acknowledge his authority; on the contrary, they failed not to send ambassadors to the Lords of Lombardy, advising them to oppose his passage; and particularly to Guido della Torre, Lord of Milan, who had so much reason afterwards to repent of not having followed their advice*. Florence possessed riches and courage, and her history contains examples of the intrepidity with which she opposed former Cæsars. It is true, the emperor would not listen to the names of Guelph or Ghibelline, and declared he came only to restore concord to Italy: but the prudent Florentines had a recent example before their eyes in the arrival of Charles de Valois; who, coming to Florence with the specious title of pacifactor, had introduced so much mischief. Ano-

1311. ther revolution had altered the system of Italy. The pope was a powerful rival of the emperor, and fitted to curb his usurpations by his presence and activity. The pope's see was no longer in Rome; but in Avignon. Philip the Handsome, King of France, who had felt of the formidable power of Boniface, at the death of his successor Benedict entered into a treaty for the election of his subject, the Bishop of Bordeaux; and succeeded not only in getting him elected, but in transferring the pontifical seat near to his own capital, in order that he might have greater influence over him†. The Italians, therefore, would have done well to imitate the Florentines, and shut the gates of Italy upon the new emperor.

* Istor. Pistolesi.

† Murat. Ann. D' Italia.

The wise King of Naples, Robert, made every preparation to defend the kingdom, and even sent his brother to Rome with troops, to encourage the Romans to oppose his entrance. He entered into a close alliance with the Florentines, and on his passage through Florence and Sienna, at his return from Avignon, exhorted the citizens to unanimity that they might be stronger against the foreign enemy. That emperor had already begun to give unequivocal demonstrations of the obedience he exacted, as well as the control he pretended to exercise over Tuscany, and the whole of Italy. His ambassadors came to Florence, and intimated to the Florentines that their army should abandon the territory of Arezzo, which was under the protection of the empire; and that the republic should send him ambassadors to pay him homage. At this imperious demand, Betto Brunelleschi, a daring and arrogant man, who was become more so by the fall of Corso Donati, which he had occasioned, upon the answer being intrusted to him, replied with pride and indecent insolence, which the signiory disapproving of, begged the ambassadors would return for
1311. another answer, which was given them in polite terms, but with firmness and decision: after which the Florentines made the necessary provisions for defence. Henry was already arrived at Turin. The earnest invitations which the Ghibellines gave him were seconded by a letter from Dante. It is written with a certain loftiness; the character of that great man, which he always maintained even when speaking with an emperor; there are expressions in it which savour of reproach towards him for having staid so long at Milan. He encourages him to march against Florence, which city, he tells him, fomented that hydra of rebellions, which arose so successively one after the other in Lombardy:

nor was he in the wrong. If, however, such a letter may appear little charitable towards his country, it must, at least, be confessed that generosity deterred him from bearing arms against her, when the emperor besieged the city. But this letter was fatal to him: the enmity of the citizens towards him, that time was beginning to appease, became stronger, and in the year 1315 his exile was again confirmed, and he lost every hope of returning to his native country.

In the mean time, as if, although dead, Corso Donati had been destined to agitate the city, the followers of his party were seeking vengeance for him, and killed

^{1311.} Betto Brunnelleschi who had armed the people against Corso; and finding themselves sufficiently strong went to the monastery of S. Salvi, where his body had been buried without honours, dug it from the ground, and gave it a splendid funeral, and even armed the guard, in order that the divine service might not be disturbed. This homicide, and that which happened subsequently of Pazzino de' Pazzi, by work of the cavalcanti, would probably have immersed the city in her ancient civil disorders, had it not been for the dread of Henry, who, having conquered Brescia, prepared to march into Tuscany; but probably as he did not consider it so easy an enterprise, and wished first to try peaceable means, he sent new ambassadors, who were forbidden to enter the city. The Florentines fought with the arms with which they were most powerful, viz., money; with this they had maintained Brescia, and, after Henry had departed, made her rebel; and by the same means ^{1312.} gained Messer Ghiberto, Lord of Parma, over to them, who raised against the emperor the standard of rebellion in Lombardy. The Florentines were then sum-

moned to send twelve persons to Genoa to excuse themselves, and upon refusing, were placed out of the protection of the empire.

After so many insults to the majesty of royalty, it became necessary to prepare for the most vigorous defence. Henry's fame was great; all Lombardy, subdued either by dread of him or his arms, had surrendered to him. The Pisans were impatient to have him within their walls; and their ambassadors in Genoa hastened his departure. Although Pisa, since the fatal defeat^{1312.} of Meloria, had never regained her ancient power, she was still commercial and rich; that war, so fatal to her, only terminated in the year 1300, in which she concluded with the Genoese a very unfavourable peace by the ransom of prisoners, who in fifteen years of imprisonment, had for the greater part perished. A mortal epidemic, by which the empress herself lost her life, and the bad disposition of the Genoese, made him finally embark for Pisa, where he arrived at Porto Pisano on the 6th of March, and was received in the city with extraordinary joy and pomp. All the outlaws and discontented in Tuscany were assembled together with a multitude of foreigners, many of them attracted either by hope or curiosity, or by the desire of paying their court to him; such as the Bishop of Arezzo, Ugucione della Faggiola, and Frederic of Montefeltro. The Pisans offered him, together with the keys, the sovereignty over their republic. This, indeed, was a mere formality; but the exorbitant sums he drew from the republic,—sums which, if we are to give credit to a contemporary historian*, made the people murmur greatly, were far from

* Ferreto Vicent. Hist. lib. 5. Rer. Ital. tom. 9. Ist. Pist. Marang. Cron. Pis.

1312. being so. On the 1st of April, in the garden of Gambacorti, where he was accustomed to hold his councils, together with his first nobility, he solemnly declared enemies of the empire many Lombard princes, who had rebelled against him, as well as the Florentines and Lucchese. His troops made some trifling inroads upon the Florentine and Lucchese territories; no enterprise of note, however, was undertaken, because Henry was anxious for his coronation in Rome, and marching rapidly by the way of the Maremma, in spite of the party formed against him by the agents sent by the Florentines, united with those of King Robert and the Orsini, with whom every day he came to blows, when the road to St. Peter's was contested with him; he assumed the crown in St. John's the Lateran †. Leaving Rome, he advanced towards Tuscany by the road of Perugia, was joyfully received in Cortona and Arezzo, where he remained two days, and gave audience to the ambassadors of San Sepolcro, who came to implore his pardon. He now moved on towards Florence; Monte Varchi, with its weak fortifications, detained him only three days. San Giovanni was surrounded by a ditch full of water; but scarcely were the waters drawn off when she surrendered. The imperial army met with no resistance of consequence as far as Incisa, where a large body of Florentines were encamped to guard the passage in a very strong position. The emperor did not find it convenient to lose time here; and seeing how difficult it was to face them, with the advantage of position they enjoyed, made his troops ascend by another mountainous pass, which was pointed out to him by the outlaws, and took Montelfi. A troop of Florentines seeing the enemy

† Albert. Muss. Gio. Vill. lib. 9. c. 42. Ferr. Vicen. loc. cit.

advancing to occupy that post, soon made use of every means to prevent them,—but, being overtaken by a band of Germans, who descended from the mountain, they were beaten, and obliged to retreat precipitately to Incisa; the enemy in the mean time occupied Montelfi. By this operation all communication with Florence was cut off to the Florentine army, which, being without provisions, would have been reduced to great difficulty had the imperial army known the advantage of the position, and maintained itself in it. But breaking up, and arriving at the gates of Florence, before the Florentine army, the imperialists filled the city with dismay and terror, which subsided only upon the arrival of the Florentines in the night by another road; and when the succours from Lucca, Sienna, and many other cities of Tuscany and the Romagna, were come up, which the common terror had drawn together, a very numerous body of troops was col-

lected in Florence, of not less than 4,000 cavalry^{1313.} and 24,000 infantry. This army, which was very large for those times, had so little dread of the imperialists, that the gates, except that which corresponded with the enemies' camp, were always left open. It is true that the imperial army was inferior in number to the Florentine; but the cavalry of the former, which was accustomed to war and very courageous, struck terror into the weak Italians*; nor did the Florentines venture to cope with them in the open plain. They well knew, however, that time was fighting for them, and that the emperor would soon be in want of both money and provisions. On the part of the imperialists the war was now reduced to laying waste the country, having no troops

* Istor. Pistol. “Lo imperatore aveva duomila cavalieri in fra i quali n' aveva 800, che avrebbero combattuto con tutti quelli di dentro.”

to lay siege to the city in due form, the Florentines only stood on the defensive,—and under the walls some of the most daring youth occasionally made a sortie, followed by little skirmishes and paltry attacks, which served as an amusement to the citizens, and even to the women who were drawn up upon the walls. The Florentines carried on the war with considerable skill from the tower of the church of San Miniato, from the fort of Fiesole, from the villa of Benincasa at Ripoli, places they had strongly fortified. They continually observed the motions of the Germans; and whenever they saw a little party straggling from the camp, they came down upon them with superior force, and generally overpowered them. By this means the provisions were frequently intercepted: fifty beasts of burden laden with them, that were coming in from Arezzo, were taken,—and of two hundred soldiers, who were escorting them, seventy were killed and sixty taken prisoners. Bernardino of Polenta, captain of the Florentines, occupied the Castle of Leccio, afterwards the tower that stood upon the bridge of Incisa, and Ganghereto. A large convoy of provisions had been intercepted at Castiglion Fiorentino by the Siennese, in junction with the Florentines. The passes and the mountains of Mugello were taken, whereby no other passage remained free to the imperial camp than that of Casentino*. The imperialists, therefore, began to feel the want of provisions; Henry fell sick at S. Salvi of a tertian ague, arising probably from the unwholesome Roman air, in which he had passed the summer. At last, seeing the difficulty of the enterprise, after two months he raised the camp in the last night of October; and Florence had the glory of having driven away the emperor with a brave

* Albert. Muss. Hist. Augu. lib. 9. rer. ii. tom. 10.

army, which for three years had been the terror of Italy. Henry retired to San Casciano, where he remained about two months attacking the neighbouring castles*, 1313. some of which were burnt and others spared. Arriving at Poggibonsi, he ordered the castle, which had been already dismantled by Charles of Valois, to be rebuilt upon the hill, which was soon carried into execution, and the name given it of Castle or Imperial Hill. The emperor prosecuted his journey to Pisa, where he stayed only a short time; he then took the road to Rome, continually molested by the confederates of the Florentines. Finally, the disorder, with which he had been attacked at S. Salvi, increased, and he died at Buon Convento. His body was carried to Pisa, and buried there †.

* Among the castles spared was Lucardo, perhaps on account of its good cheese.—Vedi Iter. Ital. Henrici VII. Nicolai Episcopi Botrontinensis. The writer was travelling companion to the emperor, and says, "*Aliqua castra combussit, alia retinuit sicut Lucardum ubi fiunt boni casei.*"

† It was thought that he was caused to be poisoned by the Florentines in the wafer communicated to him by means of the Dominican friar. This opinion increased to a degree that, upon his corpse being brought to Pisa, some of the friars of that order were killed by the people; more than three thousand Pisans put on mourning, and went to meet the corpse.—Cron. Bolognese Mura. Rer. Ital. Scrip. In order to give the lie to such a calumny, we have only to read the History of Ferreto Vicentino, who describes at length the disease of the emperor, with all its progress, and the little care which he took of it, and we shall see that it was this which caused his death. Nevertheless, it is sufficient that calumny be once pronounced, that it may be repeated by a hundred pens.—For this expedition, see Gio. Vill. lib. 9. Istor. Pistol. Ferr. Vicen. Hist., and the Itinerary of the Emperor, written by the Bishop of Butrinto, all cotemporary writers. Whoever has the wish to mix the comic with a tragic event, has only to compare the long and tiresome reflections upon the Siennese Chronicle, made by Benvoglianti, (Rer. Ital. tom. 15,) upon the death of the emperor with a passage

During the whole of this war Sienna adhered with firmness to the confederacy with the Florentines; and whenever the enemy approached the walls, or came upon her territory, she defended herself with great courage, and attacked him at various times with repeated success, causing no little loss to the imperial army, particularly by intercepting the provisions the Pisans sent to it*. The remainder of the Tuscan league also, with the exception of Pisa and Arezzo, remained firm,—and proved what union and concord are able to effect against foreign invaders. The death of the emperor excited at once in Italy joy and grief, gladness and consternation, and various emotions, according to the different parties and interests. Florence had reason to rejoice, as well as the remainder of the Tuscan confederacy; because, although she had gloriously repulsed him, as long as he remained in Italy, he was the centre of union for all the outlaws and dis-

1313. contented, as well as those who hid themselves in disguise within her walls. Pisa was one of the cities which was thrown into the greatest consternation by this death, and probably foresaw that the Tuscan confederacy was conspiring for her ruin.

Frederic, King of Sicily, who had entered into an alliance with them, with the Genoese, and with the emperor, against King Robert, and who, with a powerful fleet united to that of the Genoese, was already at sea in

of the *Pisan Chronicle of Marangi*. The latter pretends that he died through too much chastity and continence, making a false censure of the vocabulary of the *Crusca*; but is it necessary to search for either poison or other causes, in order to explain the death of a patient under malignant fever, accompanied by a carbuncle?—See, besides those quoted, *Albertino Muss. Rer. Ital.* tom. 10.

* *Malevol. Istor. di Sienna*, par. 2. lib. 4.

the expedition to which the deceased emperor was marching by land, was greatly surprised upon being made acquainted with the doleful news, came to Pisa to ascertain the truth of it, and to mingle his sorrows with those of the Pisans. The latter offered him the command of the republic, as the Florentines had done King Robert; but neither Frederic nor Amadeus, Count of Savoy, nor Americ, of Flanders, chose to accept it.

Seeing the tempest that was now lowering over them, they took many troops of the emperor into their pay, and made Uguccone della Faggiola captain of them, who was the hero of those times. The origin of this man, one of the most illustrious warriors of his age, who has made the Florentine power totter, and the royalty of Naples shed tears, is not very clear. The family of Faggiola was not known before Uguccone; and to him it owes all its splendour. In the district of Arezzo, in those times very extensive in the Apennines, which overlook S. Sepolcro, Faggiola existed in the midst of steep rocks and beeches, (*faggie*,) from which he probably took his name, and the ruinous remains, that are seen even to this day, may be those of the houses of Uguccone*. Born of an obscure origin, but a rich proprietor, endowed with a warlike mind, he commenced his military career, together with Maglinardo, of Susinana, and other Ghibellines against the Bolognese; afterwards with Azzo, Marquis d' Este; with the Aretines, of whom he was mayor and captain,—and, being very acceptable to the emperor, he sent him as viceroy to Genoa. Returning from thence, the Pisans chose him for their leader; but he was as dangerous to the Pisan liberty as he had been to

* Guazzesi upon the ancient dominion of the Bishop of Arezzo. par. 2. § 6. note.

the suspicious Aretines. His warlike celebrity was confirmed by a ferocious aspect, which makes the greatest impressions upon the minds and expectations of the vulgar. Of a lofty stature, and very robust in limbs, he made use of larger and heavier arms than the common, and various wonderful feats are recounted of him: amongst the rest, that being abandoned in a battle by all his men, wounded, in the midst of the enemy, and sorely trampled upon, he had even retired into a place of safety, carrying with him four halberts and thirteen darts stuck in his great shield, which had been thrown against him by the enemy. He was not less valuable in council than formidable in arms; nor was he scrupulous in the choice of the means that were to conduct him to greatness. His arrival alone gave fresh courage to the Pisans. It would have appeared that, upon the death of the emperor, the Ghibelline faction in Italy, and particularly in Tuscany, would have been extinguished; since King Robert was against it, the powerful sovereign of Italy; master, besides the kingdom of Naples, of Provence, of Rome; and who ruled by means of his viceroys in Florence and in Lucca; which republics kept the greater part of Tuscany united with the same party. But so much can a single individual sometimes effect, that Uguccione made the balance turn against this confederacy. He lost no time, and drove back the German bands which were united with the Pisans against the Lucchese. They had been reinforced by the Florentines, the Siennese, by the people of Malespini, and the Fieschi, but were nevertheless defeated by Uguccione, who at one time, having followed them into the suburbs of Lucca, which were set fire to, he even carried away statues, and raised up trophies in derision of the Lucchese*: and, after having laid waste

* Alber. Muss. lib. 3. Rer. Ital. tom. 10. Tronci Ann. Pis.

their country in various places, he obliged them to restore different castles to Pisa, which they had usurped since the times of Count Ugolin. But, what was of greater moment, he commanded them, if they wished to be at peace, to restore the Ghibellines to the city, among whom he had a great party; and thus the road was opened to him of making himself master of Lucca. This city was divided between the Bernarducci and the Obizzi; the latter, however, ruled,—and Gerard of S. Lupidio, the viceroy of King Robert, used all his efforts fruitlessly to keep peace amongst them.

The cunning Uguccione well knew how to take advantage of circumstances, and holding a secret treaty in that city with the discontented, who had returned, and among them with Castruccio Antelminetti, who made himself so celebrated afterwards, marching to Lucca with his choice troops on the 14th June, a gate was opened to him by his favourers, which he entered at, and being assisted by the latter, he made himself master of the city, which was abandoned by the principal of the contrary faction, together with the royal viceroy. Lucca was sacked, particularly the palace: nor was the pontifical treasure more respected, which had been brought from Rome and its neighbourhood, by the Cardinal of Sta. Flora, by pontifical order, and deposited in S. Frediano; a treasure which amounted to a million of florins in gold: this became also a booty of the greedy soldiers,

1314. who spared no insults even to innocent virgins and the most noble matrons*. The Ghibellines, or Bianchi, and the Pistoiese in particular, distinguished themselves by the rage of persecution towards their enemies; after which excesses, which lasted eight days, the

* Giov. Vill. lib. 9. c. 59. Istor. Pistol. Alberti. Muss. Rer. Ital. tom. 10.

Pisans returned in triumph, and Uguccione left his son Francis master of the city with a strong guard.

Florence was thrown into consternation at the news of this disaster, and she now made vigorous preparations for a dangerous war, which she saw imminent. Already some time before the death of the Emperor, when she made a close alliance with King Robert, she had conceded to him for some years the government of the city, upon conditions that the system should not be altered, and he sent her a viceroy with a small body of troops. Now that the danger was increasing, he sent his brother Piero, Count of Gravina, there with three hundred horse, a youth of graceful aspect, and of pleasing manners, who gained the affection of the Florentines; and as the creation of the priors and other magistrates was at his discretion, he endeavoured in the election to satisfy the wishes of the public. It was of importance to lessen the number of enemies as much as possible; he therefore attempted an accommodation with the Aretines, who, if they had joined Uguccione, would have been dangerous to him; he made peace with them upon equal conditions*. Uguccione, however, was not quiet; he made continual inroads, sometimes upon the Volterrann territory, at others upon the Pistoiese as far as Cormignano to the terror of the Florentines: took Serravalle and attempted to surprise Pistoia; the stratagem was well concerted; he gained some country people over to him, who were keeping guard upon the walls; these men, according to the plan agreed upon, let fifty of the enemy scale them in a dark night on the 11th of December, who, having either broken down or opened the gate, entered with about eighty horse and three hundred in-

* Vill. lib. 9. cap. 63. Amm. Istor. Fior. lib. 5.

fantry, their comrades. Being, however recognised, the whole of Pistoia was in motion, the alarm bells were rung, and arms were taken up. If Uguccione had arrived at this time, the stroke would have been decisive: the people armed, and the small number being known, they assailed them courageously: after a long contest, seeing the dawn of day coming on, and the succour not appearing, they were obliged to retire from the city. Scarcely were they gone, when Uguccione appeared, but it was too late, and it became expedient for him to retreat*.

The Florentines, who saw the war becoming continually more dangerous, sent to request new suc-
1314. cours from King Robert. His brother, Philip, Prince of Taranto, with his son Charles, solicited to join them; the prudent Robert, who was well acquainted with his incapacity, consented, but with great unwillingness; he brought with him five hundred chosen horse. After the fall of Lucca, the Florentines strongly fortified Monte Catini, as an important barrier. Uguccione thought of attacking it; and foreseeing that the Florentines would be against him, he collected with all possible alacrity as many troops as he was able; Pisans, Lucchese, from the Bishop of Arezzo, the Counts of
1315. Santa Fiora, together with many Ghibellines and outlaws. A numerous army was immediately called together by the Florentines, with the assistance of the confederate cities of Bologna, Perugia, Gubbio, Sienna, Pistoia, Prato and Volterra, which, with the Neapolitan troops, amounted to 3,000 horse, and 30,000 infantry according to some authors; but force in those times consisted in cavalry. The prince marched at the

* Istor. Pistol.

head to liberate Monte Catini, which Uguccione was besieging. The troops of Uguccione were far inferior in number, but alike superior in valour, and the ability of their commander. The two armies came in front of each other. They halted for some time, divided by the Nievole, a small river that runs through a valley, separating the heights of Monte Catini and Monsulmano. Philip, commander of the Florentines, was ill of fever. They made inroads near the camp of the Pisans, in order to excite them to battle; and seeing them immoveable, as they imagined from fear, they increased their audacity; the shrewd Uguccione was seeking only to increase the inconsiderate confidence of the enemy. Finally, thinking the road for his provisions intercepted, he either determined upon retreating, or feigned to do so, but in good order, holding himself ready for battle whenever the opportunity offered*. The Florentine army followed him up as if he had been beaten, alert and in good order, when Uguccione on a sudden making a halt, from being the assailed became the assailant, ordered the weak vanguard to be attacked, which was composed of Siennese and people of Colle, by one hundred and fifty of his best soldiers, led on by his son, and Jacob Malaspini a Florentine outlaw. They soon routed it; and hastened imprudently upon the flank of Piero, where was the nerve of the army; great as the danger was not a man turned his back, and they were nearly all cut to pieces. Uguccione, with eight hundred German horse, the flower of his troop, attacked the disordered enemy with so much vigour, that he easily beat them. The greatest opposition was made by Count Gravina, who had the best troops; but even these were put to flight. The

* Ist. Pist. Rer. Ital. tom. 11.

1315. battle was most bloody ; and the Florentines experienced one of the most memorable defeats. A son of Uguccione was slain, at which the intrepid warrior never changed countenance : but the heat of revenge, and bitterness of hatred, towards the Florentines, made him issue an order, that neither prisoners were to be made, nor lives spared ; and the carnage was immense. Villani reckons nearly 2,000 killed of the defeated ; but the number must have been greater, as we learn from other writers, that many were drowned in the Nievole, and few made prisoners. The defeat of Monte Catini was attended with a doleful celebrity in the death of Piero, brother of the king, who was drowned, probably, in a marsh, and his body could never be found ; of Charles, son of the Prince of Taranto, his nephew ; and of many of the principal nobility of Florence and the confederate cities*. Amongst the combatants were persons of the first families ; and Naples, Florence, Bologna, Sienna, and Perugia, were for a considerable period shrouded in mourning. Among the most distinguished, were reckoned a hundred and fourteen of the first families of Florence, Charles, Count of Battifolle, Caraccio and Brusco of

1315. Arragon, the most celebrated of warriors : on the other side, besides the son of Uguccione, was slain his comrade Malaspini, who bore the imperial ensign, and which he never quitted, even when mortally wounded. Castruccio Antelminelli, who bore arms under Uguccione, was wounded. The remains of the broken army dispersed towards Pistoia, Fucecchio, Cerbaia, and many were drowned in the marshes of the

* Gio. Vill. lib. 9. c. 70. Istor. Pistol. Albert. Mass. lib. 6. Tronci. Ann. Pis. Cron. Sanese di Andrea Dei.

Gusciana. The booty of the conquerors was immense; the Florentine effeminacy and luxury had introduced among the arms, carpets and silken beds fringed with gold, with the most costly furniture, which made them resemble the Sybarites, more than the Spartans*. Many ensigns were taken: among them were two royal standards. This battle happened on the 29th of August. The body of Prince Charles was respected, and a decent funeral granted it: that of the son of Uguccione was buried in one of the tombs of the Campo Santo of Pisa, with his name inscribed thereon. The Count Ranieri of Donoratico† was in this battle with his Pisans; who still maintained his hereditary hatred towards the royal family of Naples, the author of whom, Charles I., had caused his grandfather Gherard to be beheaded,
 1316. together with Conradin: and when the body of Prince Charles was found amongst the slain, it is related that Ranieri, treading upon it with a barbarous complacency, invoked the shade of his grandfather to taste the cruel pleasure of revenge, and execrating that of Charles, he caused himself to be created chevalier upon the corpse‡. Monte Catini and Monsulmano surrendered soon after to the conquerors, and many castles followed the same fate. Disheartened by these losses, the Prince of Taranto returned to Naples, and King Robert sent his new vice-regent, the Count of

* Ferr. Vicent. Hist. lib. 7.

† Alber. Muss. calls him Neri, son of Fazio.

‡ Many writers relate the fact: among the rest Alber. Muss. de Gest. Ital. lib. 4. Rer. Ital. tom. 10., repeats the words of Ranieri more precisely: "Et tollite, inquit, Avi Gerardi manes: este hujus muneris mei longitione felices: Tuque Canis Senex Carole, Conradini vere Romanorum regis, atque Avi mei carnifex, accipite dignam tua feritate propaginem."

Monto Scaggioso and Andria, called also the Count Novello. Public misfortunes, however, which are wont to produce discontent against the rulers of the government, had excited a party in Florence against the royal family of Naples, of which party Simone della Tosa was head, whilst Pino, of the same family, directed the contrary party, maintaining that they ought not to dissolve a tie of friendship which had subsisted for so many years

with that royal house. The contest terminated
1316. by limiting greatly the power of the royal viceroy.

Dangerous tumults would probably have arisen, had it not been for dread of Uguccone. But fortune was beginning to grow tired of her favours towards him. There was an extraordinary man in Lucca, who possessed greater talents than Uguccone, without his cruelty.

Castruccio Antelminelli Castracani, one of the greatest men that Italy has produced, had passed through various vicissitudes before he arrived at the celebrity to which his talents destined him. An exile from Lucca with his father, for being enemies of the ruling faction, he lost his parents in Ancona, and went to England under the auspices of his relation Alderic, a rich Lucchese merchant, and was probably brought up at that time to commerce. His elevated spirit, however, made him seek access to the court of King Edward, to whom he was highly acceptable. Playing with the king and other courtiers at ball, one of the latter, on account of a dispute about the game, gave him a box on the ear in the presence of the king*. The generous Castruccio

* Tigrini, *Vita Cas. Rerum Ital.* 5. tom. 11. Aldo Manag. *Azioni di Castruc.* Incomparable as Macchiavello is in the historical style, and in the profound reflections with which he enriches it, by so much is he negligent in facts. This negligence, however, is

could not brook the affront, and drawing forth a dagger killed him on the spot. By the speedy interference of his friends, and probably by the connivance of the king, he was immediately embarked, and passing through Flanders, where the war was raging between the English and French, he took the side of the latter under Musicatto Francesi, a Florentine, who was carrying on the war with four hundred horse and 1,500 Italian infantry, and distinguished himself by many proofs of valour. When Uguccione obliged the Lucchese to receive again the exiles, Castruccio returned to his country; and by his valour and conduct the Obizi were expelled, and Uguccione made master. In the battle of Monte Catini* he highly distinguished himself, and became one of the most active and courageous followers of Uguccione. But although the latter owed him so much, the valour and the talents of Castruccio, which had gained him universal affection, began to give such jealousy to the suspicious Uguccione, that he resolved upon getting rid of him.

carried to its greatest pitch in the life of Castruccio; of which he has woven rather a romance than a history: the order of facts is confused, the circumstances wandering: the birth and uncertainty of condition in Castruccio not supported by any testimony. This loom of falsehood is crowned by the assertion that he had neither wife nor children, when he had so many, &c. All this will appear clearly to whoever will compare him with contemporary writers, and particularly Villani with Macchiavello, who wrote a century and a half afterwards.

* Macchiavello, in the life of Castruccio, attributes to him entirely the victory of Monte Catini, asserting that Uguccione was not there, being prevented by illness. Tigrini, in the life of Castruccio, says the same: but contrasts with this assertion the authority of Gio. Villani, a writer cotemporary with the fact. That Castruccio had great share in the victory cannot be doubted, as he was wounded in a leg, and did not choose to be attended to until the action was over.

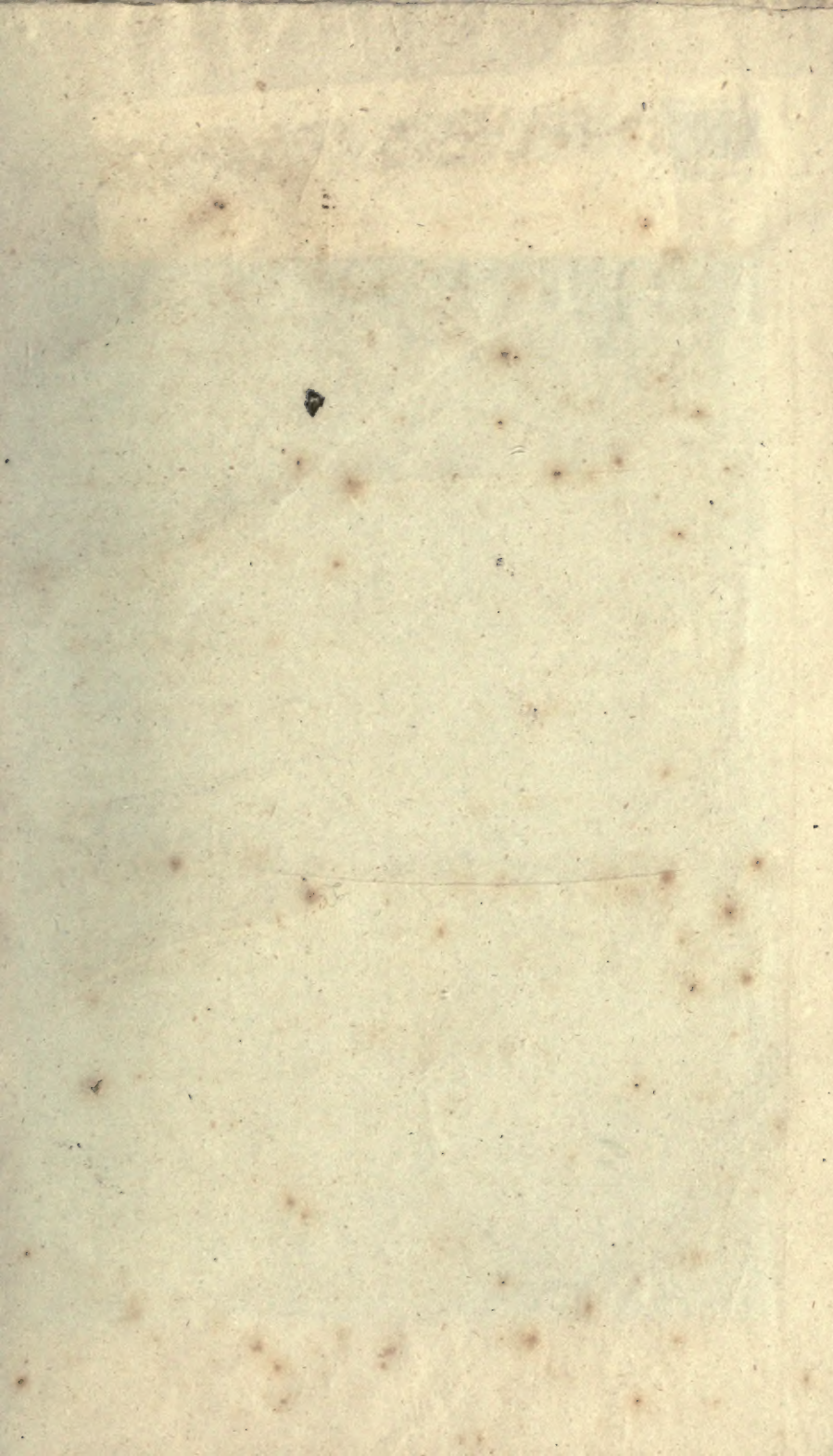
He was at Pisa whilst his son governed Lucca: the latter receiving orders from his father, invited Castruccio to supper, and caused him to be arrested. But as the good inclination of the Lucchese towards this man was equal to their hatred of Uguccione, the son did not dare to attempt so dangerous a blow without the presence of his father, whom he called, in the greatest haste to Lucca, in order to carry it into effect. Pisa, equally with Lucca, was tired of the tyranny of Uguccione, who had ordered Banduccio Bonconti, and his son, to be beheaded, merely because they gave him umbrage, under vain pretences of treason*. The Pisans, who were irritated by this fresh cruelty, hardly was Uguccione gone, raised a clamour, put his partisans to death, and gave the government to Count Gaddo della Gherardesca. This news arrived at Lucca, when the Lucchese were tumultuously demanding the liberty of Castruccio. Uguccione not daring to oppose the general wish, Castruccio was taken from prison, and presented to the public, loaded with chains. At this spectacle the people grew still more furious: Uguccione was obliged to fly; and the chains being taken off Castruccio, the latter, by a rare good fortune, was declared Lord of Lucca † on the very day which had been destined for his death.

* Vill. lib. 9. c. 74. Tigrini Vita Cas.

† Vide Gio. Vill. lib. 9. cap. 76. Tigr. Vita Cas. Aldo Manuzio. Istor. Pistolesi.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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